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The
CHRISTIAN CENTURY

Published Weekly

Orphaned Chaplains
An Editorial

Is a World Police Possible?
By William Ernest Hocking

The Meaning of the Election
An Editorial

Is Luther to Blame?
By George F. Hall

Mr. Dewey Is Lucky!
By Oswald Garrison Villard

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In This Issue

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The CHRISTIAN CENTURY

November 22, 1944

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Calendar of Coming Events

Nov. 19-Dec. 3. United Church Canvass.

Nov. 19-25. Freedom of the Press Week.

Nov. 22-24. Mission to Christian Teachers, Phoenix, Ariz.

Nov. 23-25. National Council for the Social Studies, Cleveland, O.

Nov. 24. Conference on World Order, First Presbyterian Church, Brooklyn, N. Y.

Nov. 24-27. United Stewardship Council Annual Meeting, Pittsburgh, Pa.

Nov. 26. Community Church, Boston; Carl J. Friedrich, speaker.

Nov. 26. Ford Hall Forum, Boston; André Michalopoulos, speaker.

Nov. 26. Chicago Sunday Evening Club; Edwin H. Hughes, speaker.

Nov. 26-28. Mission to Christian Teachers, Dallas, Tex., Long Beach, Calif.

Nov. 28-30. Biennial Meeting, Federal Council of Churches, Pittsburgh, Pa.

Nov. 29-Dec. 1. Mission to Christian Teachers, Houston, Tex., Los Angeles, Calif.

Dec. 3. Community Church, Boston; John Haynes Holmes, speaker.

Dec. 3. Ford Hall Forum, Boston; Lewis Browne, speaker.

Dec. 3. Charles Street Forum, Boston; Bernard Iddings Bell and John Haynes Holmes, speakers.

Dec. 4-5. Rural Life Institute, Guilford College, N. C.

Dec. 5-6. Advisory Council, American Bible Society, New York.

Dec. 8-9. Rural Life Conference, Historic Peace Churches, Bluffton, O.

Dec. 10. Universal Bible Sunday.

Dec. 10. Charles Street Forum, Boston; Bernard DeVoto, speaker.

Dec. 17. Ford Hall Forum, Boston; Wing-Tsit Chan, speaker.

Dec. 17. Community Church, Boston; Herbert Gezork, speaker.

Dec. 17. Charles Street Forum, Boston; Frederick J. Libby and Daniel Needham, speakers.

Dec. 24. Ford Hall Forum, Boston; Louis Fischer, speaker.

Dec. 24. Community Church, Boston; Harry F. Ward, speaker.

Dec. 31. Ford Hall Forum, Boston; Harry A. Overstreet and Bonaro Overstreet, speakers.

Jan. 5-8. Annual Meeting, Foreign Missions Conference of North America, Toronto, Can.

Jan. 7. Ford Hall Forum, Boston; Maurice Hindus, speaker.

Jan. 8-12. Annual Meeting, Home Missions Council of North America, Atlantic City, N. J.

Jan. 14. Ford Hall Forum, Boston; Max Lerner, speaker.

Jan. 14. Second Congregational Church Forum, Waterbury, Conn.; Walter H. Judd, speaker.

Jan. 16-19. Study Conference, Commission on a Just and Durable Peace, Cleveland, O.

Feb. 5. International Council of Religious Education, Columbus, Ohio.

Feb. 12. Fellowship Forum, Philadelphia; Scott Nearing, speaker.

Feb. 18-25. Brotherhood Week.

May 23. General Assembly, United Presbyterian Church, Dayton, O.

(Announcements will be printed in this calendar as received, but must reach the editorial office at least three weeks in advance of the date mentioned.)

The
CHRISTIAN CENTURY
Undenominational

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EDITORIAL

ESTIMATES of the number who perished from starvation and famine-bred disease in Bengal last winter range from "over 700,000" to 6,000,000. The former figure is given by the Church Committee for Relief in Asia, which reports that the trend in India is toward a recurrence of the calamity which so recently filled the civilized world with horror. The latter figure was published by the *Bombay Chronicle* in a statement by the head of the Ramakrishna Mission Ashram after he had returned from a two months' tour of the famine area. After stating that the condition of the province "beggars all description," he noted that "not only has a very large proportion of laborers and artisans as well as the middle class been wiped out but a considerable number among these classes have been rendered homeless, resourceless and so devitalized that they are now falling an easy prey to epidemics and even brief spells of ordinary illness." It is this condition which the above-mentioned official agency of American Protestantism, whose address is 105 East 22nd Street, New York 10, cites as providing the basis for apprehension that the famine is to continue in cumulative destructiveness. With the price of rice four times the prewar level, with fever epidemic and both food and medicine almost non-existent, the church committee appeals for help. It should be given, even by those who hold, as we do, that the fact that such a condition is allowed to recur proves either the incapacity or the callousness of those who have taken it upon themselves to rule India.

Must India Undergo Another Famine?

Japanese Succeed in Dividing China

AT THE MOMENT when the Japanese northern and southern armies have effected the junction at Luichow which cuts China in two, the puppet president of occupied China dies and the leader of the Communist armies returns to Chungking. Wang Ching-wei is to be succeeded by Chen Kung-po, the only man in his cabinet who had ever achieved prominence in Chinese affairs. His weakened regime is not likely to tempt other Chinese to risk their necks to bolster its waning fortunes, although the four years of Wang's pseudo-presidency were marked by repeated rumors of impending defections from Chungking. The unexpected return to the capital of free China of the Communist commander, General Chou En-lai, may, on the other hand, signalize a significant realignment of the forces opposing Japan. It may forecast the entry of Communists into the cabinet of Marshal Chiang or the lifting of the four-year blockade around the Communist area in northwest China. If either of these possibilities becomes an actuality, Japan will be confronted by a threat from her exposed Yellow river flank which may seriously hamper her exploitation of her new gains. A determined assault on Japanese forces from the Communist-controlled territory would immediately endanger the overland line of communications which is now, for the first time in the war, open to the armies of Emperor Hirohito. In other words, what all this suggests is that just when relations between China and her allies seemed so strained, the sudden resumption of negotiations between Chiang and the Communists may greatly improve the generalissimo's understanding with the United States and Russia, while the sudden death of the Japanese puppet, Wang, will further complicate Japan's political difficulties on the Asiatic mainland. But China's military position remains desperate.

Electoral Reforms Are Needed

ONE FEATURE of the original constitutional plan for presidential elections—the one providing that the person receiving the second-highest number of electoral votes for president should be vice-president—was promptly found to be unworkable, as the party system developed, and was altered by the twelfth amendment in 1803. The fiction of an election by presidential electors is equally obsolete; and the counting of the whole vote of a state in favor of the candidate having a popular majority in that state is an obstacle to democratic government and gives a false report of public opinion in the

nation. Both of these arrangements need reconsideration. So also does the question of perpetual re-eligibility for election to the presidency. The framers of the Constitution seriously doubted the wisdom of permitting even a second term, and they had agreed to prohibit it until, eleven days before the adjournment of the convention, a sudden shift of opinion or a momentary inadvertence led to the elimination of this clause without much debate. Washington and Jefferson wanted to quit at the end of their first, and Jackson in six successive messages to Congress recommended an amendment limiting the president to one term. For the next thirty years no president had even a second term. The tradition took on more crystallized form when Grant played with the idea of a third term. It was further strengthened when Theodore Roosevelt, who could easily have had a third term, renounced the opportunity in favor of Taft, a man of his own choosing. But altogether apart from considerations of tradition, there are sound reasons for limiting re-eligibility. With the vast increase of presidential power and patronage, these become stronger than ever. The question will not down. Between 1889 and 1929, there were eighty-five proposed amendments to limit presidential tenure. Most of them were not aimed against any particular candidate. The complete demolition of whatever traditional limit there may have been, suggests that the matter of a constitutional amendment might well be taken up anew.

Russia Intervenes to Gain Persian Oil

SO THE WAR is being fought for the Four Freedoms, for the Atlantic Charter's promises of equal economic treatment for all nations, and for "the sovereign equality of all peace-loving states," is it? If anyone still thinks so, a calm appraisal of recent events in Iran should be informative. Iran has oil. Iran has also been developed during the war as a great highway of supplies by which American lend-lease goods—both military and food—have been rushed to the U.S.S.R. to keep the Red armies fighting. Up to now, the only oil concessions in Iran have been in British hands. Recently, however, Russia has let it be known that she wants a share in the Iranian oil fields. And she wants it now, immediately, so that she will be in full possession when the war ends and someone at the peace conference innocently inquires, "What about Middle Eastern oil?" So what has happened? Well, developments have come so rapidly, and our knowledge of them has been so limited by censorship, that only the main outlines are fairly clear. But these seem to be: First, a demand by Russia on the government of Iran for oil concessions in northern Iran. Second, a refusal by Iran, on the ground that all such questions should be postponed until after the war. Third, an attack by the Russian press on the presence of American troops in Iran, even though those troops are there to forward war supplies to Russia. Fourth, a Russian newspaper and radio campaign to stir up riots within Iran against the government. Fifth, the resignation of the Iranian government. Washington reports express the hope that the new Iranian government will stick to the policy of the one which has fallen. If it does, it will undoubtedly be subjected to the same Russian pressure. The whole episode has, of course, been a test of strength between the Russians and the British. The Russian attack on the presence of American troops has simply been a warning to the United States not to back up the British. Russia has won, or is winning, this test. It will get the share it wants of Iranian oil. It will also add enormously to its influence in the Middle East. For it will have proved again that when it comes to postwar power politics in that part of the world, the U.S.S.R. holds the highest cards.

Cairo Assassination Tightens Tension in Palestine

WHILE Russia was thus displacing Great Britain from its virtual control of Iran, fanatical Jewish gunmen delivered a stroke which is likely still further to complicate England's problems in the Middle and Near East. On November 6 two terrorists assassinated Lord Moyne, British resident minister for the Middle East, as he was entering his home in Cairo. It soon became known that the assassins were members of the so-called Stern group. This is made up of extreme Jewish fanatics who believe in using terrorist methods to force the British to acknowledge the right of Zionists to develop Palestine as a Jewish state. Only the week before the assassination, the British had deported 251 alleged Sternists from Palestine. The killing of Lord Moyne may have been a swift retaliation. There are two or three "splinter" groups of Zionists who believe in varying degrees of direct action. None of the others, perhaps, goes as far as the Sternists, but none is willing to leave the future disposition of Palestine entirely to peaceful negotiation. These groups are repudiated by the main body of Zionists, but when the Sternists were deported the entire Zionist press in Palestine denounced Britain's action. However much other Zionists may deplore the acts of such fanatics, the Zionist movement as a whole will suffer from them. For this assassination in Cairo will undoubtedly stiffen British determination to deal with the Palestinian problem on Britain's own terms and in its own time. That stiffening in the British attitude is bound to make the future of Zionism still more precarious.

Protestant Voices From Europe

NOW THAT direct communication with France has been reopened, letters are beginning to come through which add a poignant personal touch to the reports through the channels of public information. A French Protestant pastor writes to this office: "We have suffered terribly. I fear that the American people will not be able to understand the depth of our suffering and that they are disposed to pardon the wrongs they did not suffer. That is not to say that we preach vengeance. God forbid! But we want justice, complete justice; we cry to God for justice. For my part, I have had to hide for fourteen months in order to escape the Gestapo, which seized my wife and my son as hostages for me. After four months

of torment my wife was released, but my son, aged 18, has been deported to Germany. My crime: that I protected some Jewish children, as the parable of the Good Samaritan made it my duty to do." At the opening of his letter this pastor writes: "If possible please send me The Christian Century and the *Pulpit* again. I am anxious to renew contact with American religious thought." (Soon, we hope; but the postal restrictions have not yet been sufficiently relaxed.) At the same time reports are arriving through Polish government agencies concerning the mistreatment of Protestants and the destruction of their churches in Poland. Roman Catholics in Poland have, of course, suffered even more, because there are so many more of them. The nationality of both, rather than their religion, is the ground for their mistreatment. But Polish Protestants have been particularly vulnerable because there was no powerful international organization to take their part, and because, since Polish Protestants like German Protestants are largely Lutheran, there was a specious excuse for putting their churches under the domination of nazi-minded German ecclesiastical politicians. The older Polish Protestant leaders have been done to death, and great numbers of their followers have gone to concentration camps. In short, "Polish Protestants have been entirely deprived of the right to confess their faith and practice their religion." The dimensions of Europe's postwar task of religious reconstruction grow more formidable every day.

Texas University President Upheld by Churches

DENIALS of civil liberty in the United States characteristically occur in local rather than in national contexts. This means that the greatest danger of American fascism arises in situations like that which has recently come to a head in the summary dismissal of President Homer P. Rainey from the University of Texas. As reported by Joseph Martin Dawson in the news section of The Christian Century last week, President Rainey was discharged after a protracted struggle with a board of regents who insisted on treating faculty members with total disregard of the most elemental principles of academic freedom. Their criticism of Dr. Rainey involved his defense of faculty rights and his own exercise of freedom of speech on religious as well as academic matters. The fact that the American Association of University Professors had investigated the controversy and sustained the University of Texas head apparently carried no weight with what Dr. Dawson called the "small-town economic royalists" who dominated the board of regents. They not only discharged faculty members with high-handed unconcern but finally ousted President Rainey himself on the flimsy charge that he was "making so many speeches, such as those before religious organizations." The action was taken on his return from New York, where he had said in a church: "These concepts of Christianity tell us that the blood of Christ has made brothers of all races of men and spurn the idea of race superiority and a master race." Even the most unsophisticated observer would suspect that the content rather than the number of the president's addresses irritated the regents. However, it is hardly likely that the people of Texas will allow the situation to rest where the regents have left it. The prompt action of Texas Protestant churches in coming to the defense of the university's integrity is a good sign. Civil and religious liberties are indissolubly bound together. Both depend upon an alert and determined civic conscience.

When a Christian Minister Goes Hard-Boiled

JUDGING by the number of letters which have reached this office, Americans all over the country must have been shocked by the account which appeared in the *New York Times* on November 6 of the way in which a Christian minister, now an officer of the United States army, is treating civilian Germans who come under his authority. This minister, who comes from Ohio, is chief of public welfare in the civil affairs and military government section of the 1st army staff. He holds the rank of major, and his task is to handle the refugees forced from their homes by the advance of the 1st army. As an example of the way in which he operates the *Times* tells how, when a young German woman became separated from the baby to whom she had given birth during the attack on Aachen, this major refused to let American soldiers search for her baby unless it could be proved that otherwise the mother would die. Other illustrations of his hard-boiled methods are cited, together with his verdict on all the refugees now in his camps. "They're a sullen lot of Huns," according to the major. After reading this account of his policies, one hardly wonders why. We are well aware of the arguments that can be advanced to justify such policies. Nevertheless, mind and heart alike revolt at the spectacle of a Christian minister playing such a role. The reporter who wrote the story in the *Times* apparently wished to single this man out for national approval. Most Americans, we feel, will conclude that what he actually did was to furnish another revelation of the essential incompatibility between the spirit of Christ and the spirit generated by modern war.

Revell Celebrates Diamond Jubilee

SEVENTY-FIVE years ago Fleming H. Revell, then a youth of twenty, organized a small publishing company in Chicago just in time to have it burned out the next year by the great Chicago fire of 1871. But it rose from the flames, like the fabled pyrogenetic bird, and from another fire after that one. The publishing venture was inspired by a suggestion from Dwight L. Moody, whose influence upon Revell was already strong and became stronger when Moody married Revell's sister. The year of the beginning of the Revell Company was also the year in which the great evangelist discovered Ira D. Sankey. Revell put Moody's message into print as Sankey set it to music. The publisher, like the evangelist, had a burning enthusiasm for the proclamation of simple and evangelical Christianity and very little interest in the promo-

tion of denominational peculiarities. The publishing house was no more sectarian than Sankey's gospel songs. It was, indeed, among the earliest, and it has long been the largest, of the independent publishers specializing in religious books. It has perpetuated the spirit and projected the personality of Moody far more truly than have some of the enterprises which have borne his name. The continuity of the Revell tradition, unimpaired by the removal of its headquarters from Chicago to New York, is due partly to the long continuance of control by Mr. Revell, Sr., who was active in the business for sixty-one years, until his death in 1931, and partly to its faithful maintenance by his son, Fleming H. Revell, Jr., who succeeded to the management and presidency and is now chairman of the board of directors, and his nephew, William R. Barbour, the present president of the company.

Orphaned Chaplains

THE PROTESTANT army and navy chaplain is an orphan. He confronts the world alone. Isolated from the main stream of church life, he constantly struggles against the feeling that the churches have forgotten him. The fact that he is forced by his status as an officer to stand apart from his men and that he is not fully accepted as an officer adds to his spiritual isolation. But that could be endured if his tie with organized Protestantism, in which his vocation is primarily rooted, were not so attenuated as to be practically non-existent. As the war lengthens, it becomes increasingly clear that the churches have provided no agency competent to strengthen these ties and to help the chaplain maintain the integrity of his Christian ministry to the men and women of the armed services.

It is not generally realized that the churches are going to lose a substantial portion of chaplains from the Christian ministry when demobilization comes if they do not act and act soon. The recent survey made by the Congregationalist commission on the ministry showed that one-third of the chaplains from that denomination intend, after demobilization, to go into non-church work. For such a prospect the denominations have only themselves to blame. Until Protestantism forms a united body with real authority to choose, guide and support its chaplains, the average chaplain will be largely shut up to dependence upon his own resources and compelled to face the vast impersonality of the military machine as an individual. That machine is just too formidable for any man to confront alone.

Contrast the isolation of the 5,000 Protestant chaplains with the protection, guidance and care with which the Roman Catholic Church surrounds its 2,000 chaplains. Even before the conscription law was written into our statutes in 1940, the Vatican had made Archbishop Francis J. Spellman of New York "military vicar of army and navy chaplains" in our armed forces. Under him two bishops serve as "military delegates" and under them fourteen "vicar delegates" supervise the work of chaplains in various military areas in the United States, England, China, the Philippine Islands and Alaska. Assisting Archbishop Spellman in the work of the military ordinariate in New York are a chancellor, two assistant chancellors and six priests called "secretaries." Not only all Catholics but everybody else knew when Archbishop Spellman made his protracted and highly publicized journeys to the war fronts, using facilities made available by the government. But much more important than such junkets is the day-by-day work which his well staffed organization does in Washington, in the church at home, in the camps, on the battlefronts and throughout the armed services in support of the Catholic chaplains.

When army officers attempt to palm off on a Catholic chaplain an assignment which compromises his essential function as a priest, representatives of his church are ready and able to intervene so that the chaplain is protected in his more important duties as a minister of the church. When their rights are infringed on, Catholic chaplains do not stand alone. Behind them are properly accredited bishops of the church with instant access to the highest authorities in Washington. On the other hand, when a Catholic priest proves a misfit in the chaplaincy, or when he deserves discipline, the same church organization is ready to deal with the case speedily, competently and conclusively.

Over against this Catholic handling of the chaplaincy stands a Protestant agency without authority, without roots in the organic life of the churches, without funds to do adequate work and with a small and overburdened staff. Its whole conception is one which is utterly inadequate to deal with the magnitude of the problem it faces. The General Commission on Army and Navy Chaplains is listed in the *Plan Book* of the Intercouncil Field Department of Protestant Interchurch Agencies as a subsidiary of the Federal Council of Churches. It is described as follows:

> This commission carefully selects Protestant ministers to serve as pastors to the men in the armed forces of the United States. Through the chaplains, already more than five thousand in number, the church follows its sons with its ministry and friendship wherever they go. Continuous counseling service is maintained with the chaplains in order to keep them close to the spiritual life and care of the churches.

This description claims altogether too much. In the first place, the Federal Council maintains only the most nominal relationship with the General Commission. Perhaps the reason for this is the fear that if the Federal Council should really shoulder the responsibility, the denominations which refuse to cooperate with the Federal Council would not cooperate with the General Commission. Since it is now evident that the price of their cooperation is a General Commission without competence to do what should be its work, there is a real question as to whether the price is not entirely too high. As a result, the commission carries no real responsibility even for the selection of the chaplains. The denominations pick the chaplains and forward their names to the commission. That body simply rubber-stamps choices already made. And just as the commission has

no real authority to say who shall go into the Protestant chaplaincy, so it has none to say what shall be done to weed out misfits.

Moreover, the denominations refuse to give the General Commission the funds which would be necessary if it were to discharge the functions ascribed to it. Its $20,000 annual budget is not as large as that which hundreds of churches raise for their work in local communities. The niggardliness of the churches at this point alone reveals why the "continuous counseling service" which the General Commission is supposed to give to the chaplains exists largely in the imagination of the anonymous author of the *Plan Book*. How can chaplains scattered all over the world be "kept close to the spiritual life and care of the churches" unless the agency through which the churches discharge this obligation is conceived in terms commensurate with the enormous expansion of the chaplaincy under war conditions?

The General Commission is not to blame for its inability to measure up to the responsibility of providing an adequate ministry to Protestant chaplains. Considering the narrow scope of its authority—so narrow that it can hardly be called "authority" at all—and the paucity of the resources with which it is entrusted, it does fully as much as might have been expected. The Federal Council is not to blame, for it can move no farther than the vision and concern of the churches permit it to move. The responsibility lies squarely with the denominations which have allowed three years of war to pass without courageous and united action to discharge their corporate obligation to their own chaplains.

That this is inexcusable is shown by contrast with the manner in which the denominations have risen above their divisions in behalf of the Christian service men. In founding the Service Men's Christian League they have set up an agency which carries out a common function for a considerable share of Protestantism. Of the twenty-five denominations participating, twenty-two last year gave every cent of their share of the budget of approximately $175,000. This permits the league to publish magazines for both service men and chaplains and to render other vitally needed services. If this can be done for men in the ranks, why is not similar united action taken to help and support the hard-pressed men who wear the cross on their uniforms?

The forthcoming meeting of the Federal Council of Churches provides an opportunity to rectify this Protestant blunder. No obligation which churches face is more pressing than that toward the chaplains. To discharge it adequately they should require the Federal Council to assume larger responsibilities for the General Commission on Army and Navy Chaplains. That agency should be reconceived and reconstructed so that it can really become what it has been pretended it is. It must be given real competence (1) to set the standards of the Protestant chaplaincy, (2) to pick the chaplains, (3) to retire those whose service has demonstrated their incapacity for their exacting task. In dealing with the military and other governmental authorities in Washington, it must be recognized to have behind it the united support of the churches. Only so can Protestant chaplains recover their faith that the churches are determined to maintain the integrity of the chaplain's ministry and to uphold his freedom in rendering it.

When the General Commission is given real competence by the churches it will also make sure that "mistakes" like that which recently occurred when a Roman Catholic was made chief of chaplains in England, a Protestant country, do not recur. It will enlist the aid of denominations in securing the cooperation of the ablest ministers and church leaders in regularly visiting chaplains, sustaining them as ministers of Christ in their difficult work. At its center the General Commission will uphold Protestant interests in its dealings with the chief of chaplains, the commandant of the chaplains' training school and the chief of the chaplain placement office (all are now Roman Catholics), and will be prepared when necessary to carry to the highest authorities its representation in behalf of each Protestant chaplain in any branch of the service.

Washington officials today can discount a Protestant representation as simply the voice of an isolated man, of a single denomination or of a loose congeries of generally competitive churches. They are perfectly content to have it so, since it is easier to deal with weakness than with strength. But the Protestant churches dare not remain content with this situation which their self-interest and disunity have created. A vitiated and disillusioned chaplaincy today stands in judgment on the denominations. Tomorrow these men will return. Will they be a source of weakness rather than of strength to the postwar church? The Pittsburgh meeting of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ provides the best opportunity available in the next two years for such united action to give the Protestant chaplain the support he needs to do his job. That opportunity should not be lost.

The Meaning of the Election

THE NATIONAL election, which granted President Roosevelt his fourth term, has checked a trend in American life which began to manifest itself at about the middle of his second term and which most observers believed had been gaining strength ever since. At the same time, the election confronts the American people with the necessity for a decision on an issue of almost unexampled magnitude. The trend, which has now been checked, was believed to be toward conservatism; this in defiance of the currents of political and economic thought which are sweeping through other countries. The decision, which will underlie all the postwar policies of the nation, concerns the nature of the economy by which the United States intends henceforth to support its population.

While most of the world was swinging toward new experiments in political and social action, in this country the tide appeared to be running in the opposite direction. As Republican strength increased in Congress and in the state governments, as the very name of

the New Deal shed its magic (even Mr. Roosevelt at one time having so lost confidence in its potency that he asked for its abandonment), as the revolt of farmers against regimentation and the clamor of business for "free enterprise" gained in strength, it became a widely accepted conclusion that the United States was heading back to a position probably somewhere between the New Deal ideology and the "normalcy" of the twenties. England and the states of western Europe might be bound toward a system of planned economy. Even Canada, on this continent, with the rise of the C.C.F. might give clear evidence of a turn toward a socialist order. But not so the United States. Here the trend was toward the right.

The election, however, has checked this trend, if it was a trend. This is not to say that the decisive issue of the campaign was that of conservatism versus the New Deal. Numerous factors bore upon the result, not least among them Mr. Roosevelt's unequaled personal powers as a vote-getter. But we are not now concerned to trace all these influences, on which a host of political analysts are currently commenting. Our concern is rather with what this election signifies for the future. That significance, we are convinced, is to be found in the emergence of organized labor as a dominant political force.

I

Put this down as the most important fact with regard to the election of 1944. Without Roosevelt, to be sure, the Democrats would not have won. But without organized labor, Roosevelt would not have won. Call the roll of pivotal states—New York, Pennsylvania, Connecticut, Illinois, Michigan. All would have gone Republican but for the remarkably effective campaign of the Political Action Committee. And the victory of labor clearly indicates that the administration of our national economy will move more decisively toward the left, that it will undertake to project into the postwar period in ways as yet undefined the spirit and technique of collectivist economy which has been required for the fighting of the war.

Labor thus organized itself for political action, and proved its power at the polls, precisely because it, too, sensed the trend of the country toward conservatism, and feared it. The Republican sweep in the congressional elections two years ago, and still more the formation of a coalition in Congress between reactionaries of both parties which registered in the passage of the Smith-Connally Act over a presidential veto, frightened the leaders of labor to their very marrow. Moreover, thoughtful labor leaders viewed the prospect after the war with profound alarm. With more than 10,000,000 returning from the armed services to the labor market, with half the national economy losing the sustenance of war orders, with ownership and management in many industrial centers looking forward to a day when a surfeited labor market and a contracting economy would offer opportunity for an all-out and possibly successful attack on the unions, these labor leaders concluded that their only hope lay in immediate organization for maximum intervention in the presidential campaign. The result was the P.A.C., and Mr. Hillman and his associates have fully earned the satisfaction which they must feel at the enormous political strength which the P.A.C. demonstrated.

Nevertheless, this triumph leaves labor in a position no less precarious than it leaves President Roosevelt. It must reckon that one effect will be to hasten and intensify the process of dividing the country into class groups. If fear of power in the hands of conservatives drove labor to the formation of the P.A.C., fear of the power of the P.A.C. is likely to drive business interests and the farmers toward a closer alliance with a more determined opposition to labor's demands. There is danger, also, of an intensification of the division within the labor movement itself. The P.A.C. is, after all, a C.I.O. organization, and while most of the A.F. of L. has proved ready to go along in a united labor effort to re-elect the President, this by no means proves that it will go all the way toward the left or that it will not resort to obstructive tactics if the C.I.O. becomes too powerful in the new administration.

Thoughtful labor leaders, it seems to us, must also be aware of the dangers to which they have exposed the future of the labor movement in this country by the stultifying alliances which have been formed for the sake of winning the election. Mr. Hillman's sudden conversion into an ally of Boss Hague may have made the difference between victory and defeat in New Jersey, but it did not leave organized labor in a sound moral or even strategic position in that state. And so elsewhere. The disquieting fact, as the best labor leaders must see, is that labor has given hostages to the corrupt city machines of the north and the reactionary state machines in the one-party south, and between the two both its ideals and its program may yet be wrecked. Added to all that, labor can hardly feel, in the light of the record, that it is beyond the danger of repudiation at Mr. Roosevelt's own hands if at any time in the future his personal fortunes seem likely to suffer from his labor entanglements.

We believe, however, that we voice what is in the minds of most Americans of liberal thought and outlook when we say that we welcome this rise of labor as a power in the nation. Since the processes of democracy inevitably involve a constant struggle for power, it is a healthy thing that there now seems likely to be within American life a full expression of the power of the industrial wage-earner. On behalf of the nation, all that anyone has a right to ask is that this power shall be exercised with a sense of responsibility to the total national welfare, to the total welfare of mankind and to the true welfare of labor itself. If labor demonstrates this sense of total obligation—as organized industry and organized agriculture in the past have failed to do—then this phase of the 1944 election outcome will in the long run prove of enormous importance as a source of hope for the future.

II

The election, we have said, checked whatever current there was in American life running in the direction of reaction and turned it toward the idea of a planned economy. It has not insured the triumph of that idea. It is still true that the idea meets with greater resistance in the United States than in almost any other nation. That is

so simply because the people of the United States, with their unparalleled standard of living, have more to lose by a wrong fundamental decision than other peoples. A letter to a current periodical from an army captain replies to charges that American soldiers do not know what they are fighting *for* by maintaining that since these soldiers already have so much it is enough for them to know what they are fighting *against,* and that 99 out of every 100 know that. There is considerable truth in this, and it applies all down the line of our national life. It gives the "free enterprise" slogan whatever potency it has, even though Mr. Willkie, before his untimely death, showed how essentially hollow that slogan is. In other words, this election has brought the issue of the nature of America's future social order to the point of decision. It has not decided it.

It is not necessary here to expatiate on the attractions of the idea of a planned economy. Especially in view of the achievements of national planning in dealing with a war crisis and the threats of mass unemployment after the war economy has ceased to function, some sort of over-all economic planning and direction by the government is likely to seem to most liberals essential to national security and prosperity. But the great danger is that the nation, caught in the tidal movement which has long been sweeping through other countries, will be merely carried along on this tide without critical examination of the final ends to which it is being borne. This danger is enhanced by the opportunism which has characterized Mr. Roosevelt's administration from the beginning.

III

The American people cannot afford merely to drift into a planned economy. The decision which they must now make will call upon them for the most intelligent re-examination of the assumptions upon which a planned economy rests. So long as the socialistic ideal was merely an ideal, it was not easy to grasp its practical implications. But we have before us, now, in Germany, Italy and Russia formidable examples of the kind of fruit which a planned economy has yielded. Can such an economy be operated without bearing the fruits which we know as nazism, fascism and dictatorship?

This is a question whose answer should not be prejudged. Above all, it should not be settled by a stark struggle for political power by class interests in disregard of the intelligent use to which the power is to be put. Fortunately, the philosophy and practice of government planning for industry is already being subjected to searching examination, criticism and attack. The appearance of such books as Friedrich Hayek's *The Road to Serfdom* or John T. Flynn's *As We Go Marching* or Ludwig von Mise's *Omnipotent Government* is only one indication that we are approaching a debate which, before it is finished, should give the nation the light that it needs. Even organized labor should be able to grasp the importance of this issue, for despite all its enthusiasm for Roosevelt and the New Deal ideology, large sections of organized labor have been anything but happy in their dealings with the innumerable bureaus and labor-controlling agencies which government planning under war conditions has required.

Of course, the fact which tends to offset the objections raised by writers who fear a "planned" tyranny is that government planning so often appears as the alternative to the "planning" imposed by monopoly capitalism. Power exerted by great corporations and by great combinations of industry can be no whit less regimental in its effects than the power of government. Indeed, up to this point in our history it has often been more so. If the case should prove to be an "either-or" choice between a corporation-dominated planned economy and a government-dominated planned econmy, there can be slight doubt as to what the people's decision would be. The issue which the election raises inescapably is whether the United States is shut up to such an "either-or" choice.

IV

Can a middle way be found between an economy which is completely controlled by the interests of a profit-seeking capitalism and one controlled by government "planners"? Does Sweden have something to teach us? Will England be working out something of this nature during the next few years? Have we here in the TVA a promise that government can plan against the wastage or abuse of natural resources, including manpower, while still leaving plenty of room for individual initiative and democratic determination of policy? Here are the questions that will spring immediately to mind as the great debate concerning the nature of America's future economy opens.

The election of 1944 has done no more than open the way for that debate, but that is in itself a fact of major importance. The American people have long since become unwilling to trust Big Business for their salvation. They are caught in the same current toward greater governmental power that is now running so strongly through other lands. They have chosen as their President the candidate who is going with that current rather than trying to swim against it. It is in this deep, this basic sense that it becomes nonsense to talk any longer of American isolationism. Yet, carried along by this current though they are, the people of the United States have still to decide to what eventual goals they wish to be carried.

It is a tremendous responsibility which President Roosevelt has assumed in seeking a fourth term. He has promised this nation a lasting peace and a domestic economy capable of providing as many jobs at high wages as the war has produced. To make good it seems likely that he must commit this country to some sort of over-all peacetime planned economy. But what sort? What sort is there which does not have within it the threat to democracy by dictatorial rule? The best we can wish him, as he confronts this responsibility, is an awakening perception on his own part of the danger of expediency and extemporization and opportunism; of the necessity for rigorous study on his part and on the part of the nation with regard to all that is involved in the planning principle; and final adoption of a policy which shall be democratic in instinct and practice, a bulwark of liberty for the individual citizen, and a guarantee of security and order in a time of confusion and ebbing faith. Without such a policy, and without the will on his part to maintain it, the joy of triumph which this election has brought to the President

will turn into the tragedy of defeat long before his fourth term has ended. He has gained a little more time, but his mandate is a limited one.

Fancy and Imagination

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: Both excellent, but different. I wonder if one line of distinction can be found in the following story.

I have read in an admirable essay of a group of friends tramping the country roadside in a land where I would desire to be. Every now and then they saw directions to tell them which way to turn and what villages lay ahead. One name struck their fancy. It was a name with comic associations and excellent for providing rhymes.

These friends throughout the day kept drawing nearer to this village, and being in a merry mood they made songs, limericks or other verses introducing its name. I can imagine far less delightful accompaniments to a walk under those great hills than to chant the praises of that place, which I know well, or to invent romances of the fathers of the hamlet.

But the evening was coming on apace, and from afar they saw the railway line which was to take them back to the city and home and supper. At last the decision had to be taken: either to see the hamlet of their rhymes, or to catch the last train. With regret they turned away from the road that would have led them to the hamlet. And now they would not see it that day, but they kept within their memory a little village street with the golden light of evening upon it as they had fancied it during the long day.

But I have seen not once but many times that hamlet, seen it in the light of morning and of evening, when the shadows creep over the hills, and when the corn is ripening; seen it on other days, but especially on some Sabbath evenings when in the ancient and small church a few farmers met to worship their Lord and remember that "the strength of the hills is His also."

Not as its name created a memory for those merry companions does such a place live for me. I see clearly the little church, the hills, the scattered farms, the faces of those who were with me in other days. When I have set this picture before me, I can read within it a thousand other memories. I can see the dead, both small and great, climbing those hills. I can hear undertones of their voices as though waves of sound from other days were still moving around me.

Is such an exercise rightly called imagination, as distinct from fancy? And might not the vision of the place which those friends had not seen but glorified in their song be called an exercise of fancy? Anyhow, both are good things, and when I am invited to choose between them, I politely refuse. "Will you have a little of this or of that?" "I will have a very great deal of both," I answer.

Nonetheless, should we not be zealous for the right use of the word "imagination"? Wordsworth said that it is "reason in its sublimest mood." Such an imagination does not demand of one that he fancy another church with other trees around it on that hillside. I take them *as they are,* but *as they are* includes the everlasting hills and the land which is afar off, of which that church is as much a part as the trees and the flowers. I can see the church in days when others entered its walls, and their songs and prayers belong still to the place which they knew and loved.

I should not call the "Elegy Written in a Country Churchyard" a work of fancy. It is the light of the imagination which plays upon the material presented to the poet by a scene which anyone could see. Anybody *might* have had that same material, but the spirit which bloweth where it listeth came to Thomas Gray. To see what is offered to us, but to see around, within, beneath, behind, before it—to see in this way is the work of the imagination.

I do not envy those good friends who have their vision of that place. Perhaps, indeed, they saw it some other day and were disappointed, saying, "It is not up to the village we saw in our dreams." Nevertheless, I would rather keep mine.

Ever yours,
QUINTUS QUIZ.

VERSE

Omit the Cross

THERE must be no cross
Upon the grave of this, our son and soldier dead.
He was offered up and slain in pagan sacrifice,
And not upon a cross!

Reserve the cross
For those who died impaled upon it
By a world that cannot understand
Their virile faith in man and God—
Who face the whips and thorns
And driven spikes
Without a murmur
And without a sword!

Send flowers if you must,
But please omit the cross.

FRANKLIN D. ELMER, JR.

Revolt in Heaven

THERE was revolt in heaven:
Through the gate
There passed an army of belligerent youth—
Innumerable legions, on they came
Out of the hell of flame,
Early and late.
And all the angels gathered by the door,
Their white wings folded, tender eyes downcast,
"O Lord, have mercy; they were not fourscore;
They are the young who have not touched the hem
Of love's soft garment. So we each implore
Mercy upon them. . . Let them live again!"

MARGUERITE JANVRIN ADAMS.

Is a World Police Possible?

By William Ernest Hocking

A MAGNIFICENT prospectus for a world organization has been submitted to the public. Its statement of purposes is as complete and as pertinent to the needs of mankind as any we have had before us. Is it an accident that public debate on the Dumbarton Oaks proposals has turned chiefly on one point, to the neglect of almost all the rest—*Who wields the force, and against whom?*

It is not an accident but a matter of intention that the central object before the conferees has been peace and security. It was on this account that the Chinese proposals were politely set aside. The premise that China brought to the conference was that security cannot be attained by force alone, but must be gained by the elimination of the problems which have bred wars in recent years: China proposed to reduce attention to the military instruments of peace by making them the object of but one of six parallel commissions.* This general outlook was accepted; it was agreed that provision must be made to deal with the causes of war and to provide for future change. But it was still held that these problems should not be tied in with the "security organization." How to deal with disturbers in the great world, it was thought, must take precedence of the question of how to minimize disturbance.

Dealing with Disturbers

It is quite clear that the conferees have an idea on the subject of how to deal with disturbers of the peace, and that the essence of their answer is force—a special airforce for immediate police service, and an allocated reserve within the forces of the several member nations. A formidable weapon, which nevertheless escapes the annoying issue of where it is to be and by whom it is to be maintained. It is, to the eye, merged with national forces everywhere, but is nevertheless at command—a most ingenious solution. But the question remains, *At whose command, and against whom?*

We have here for the first time the germ of a literal world government, as distinct from a world organization for consultation and administration. A government has a latent capacity to enforce its judgments. It is a prevalent opinion that the old League of Nations failed because it had no ready force which it could surely command: it could indeed recommend, but only recommend, forcible action (Article XVI) to the member states. If this was the real source of its weakness, any new organization ought surely to remedy that defect, and be equipped with teeth. The Dumbarton proposals, in that case, offer the pertinent remedy.

Lack of Agreement

Before taking this momentous step toward world government by force, it is well to examine the assumption about the alleged failure of the old League. (The old League was certainly no all-around failure, otherwise the new proposals would hardly have incorporated so much of its anatomy!) Insofar as it failed in the end to avert another world war, that failure was certainly not due to the absence of available force. There was plenty of force, and plenty of time, to have checked Japan's Manchurian adventure, Mussolini's African campaign or Hitler's invasion of the Rhineland. It was not force that was lacking. It was simply that the national policies of the great powers concerned were not in agreement: there was no concert among them that the moment for military action had arrived. The League had not grown so strong in its repute for political insight, its prestige and moral authority, that it could impose a concerted action where there was no concert. Would a new league find itself in a happier situation?

It was not by oversight that the old League was devoid of a mobile police force. It was by deliberate choice. The proposals of the "League to Enforce Peace" were before it—one might fairly say they were insistent! The advantages of an armed League were obvious and persuasive. But the Paris conference saw that, for every possible member state, the existence of such ready armament must raise two questions: Shall I be obliged to be a party to its use? Will it be used upon *me?* The embarrassments of these questions would have cost a force-using League many of its charter members—probably a shipwreck at the start. And they would certainly have foreclosed from the first our own entry into the League—a possibility which, never realized, was yet never excluded.

Reliance on Public Opinion

The old League relied for its persuasive power not on the shadow of a big stick, but on its appeal to public opinion. General Smuts and President Wilson, at odds on many points, were in agreement on this one. They believed that a clear statement by the League of its position on a peace-threatening dispute would rally a sufficient volume of public judgment so that statesmen would hesitate to neglect or override it. They were too sanguine. The opinion of the League was never a terror to evildoers. The great powers, and the smaller ones as well, went very much their own way. Pilsudsky's outrageous forays for the illegitimate aggrandizement of a liberated Poland went unrebuked. The weakness of the League in political matters lay not at all in the absence of force, but in the fact that this public opinion on which it relied for support and

*The Chinese memorandum proposed that beside the international military commission, charged with military sanctions, there should be (1) an economic commission to keep world economic conditions in view and draft conventions for economic cooperation; (2) a territorial trusteeship commission, to supervise internationalized and mandated territories and guide them toward self-government; (3) a social welfare office, to consider spread of disease, traffic in drugs, women, children, social relief and insurance; (4) a cultural relations office; and (5) an international law codification commission. The international labor organization would also be continued.

backing was either entirely non-existent or too feeble or too late.

What is the public opinion of the world on world matters? Where will you find it? Sagacious editors even if they were unanimous in their slant do not constitute a world opinion. Nor do they plus their sagacious readers offer a basis which can move statesmen. The simple fact was, in the interval between 1918 and 1938, that most regions of the world were too ignorant of most other regions of the world to have strong views, as distinct from impressions. Sir Willmott Lewis has recently remarked, "I know of no world opinion." He has his eye on the facts, at least as they have been. And without a world opinion no league, old or new, could have a firm democratic basis for action against any powerful state.

Admitting, then, that world opinion has shown itself a frail support, does it follow that the old League builders were wrong, and that the use of force is the natural and necessary alternative? Not unless we are prepared to say that public opinion is irrelevant to the use of force. If there is not enough public opinion to support a strong line of policy, is there enough to support the use of force? Or is force to be used in an emergency without regard to public opinion?

Force without Public Opinion

Any such policy would be so dangerous to the repute of a league that, in point of fact, it is not so much as contemplated. To make the argument for a police force plausible, a figure is invoked in which an instant and unanimous public opinion is at hand. We are asked to picture a police officer discovering a felon in the act of breaking and entering. There is no doubt that he is a felon, and nothing else, otherwise he wouldn't be breaking in. There is no need and no time for appeal to court or town meeting. We are all for instant action on the part of the policeman; we are with the patriot of the French Revolution who cried, *"Je demande l'arrestation des coquins et des laches."* The policeman not being as a rule a jurist, the whole institution of domestic police is possible because there are a few easily classifiable types of disorderly conduct which can be dealt with summarily. But is international behavior classifiable in any such clear patterns? If it were, public opinion would be equally prompt and decided.

It is not so long ago that "aggression" was generally regarded as the simple and sufficient evidence of international guilt. We are dealing at present with three "aggressor nations," whose recent conduct closely fits the pattern of international banditry. The fog-effects which Japan and Italy attempted to throw over their imperial enterprises were too transparent to deceive even the innocent. They had a bad press almost universally; the public followed the editors. And in the light of later knowledge both were right. But impressions and slants are not opinion. The public already knew that "aggression" is an unreliable test, and that it was abysmally ignorant of Abyssinia and Manchuria. It could have used a Lytton commission for both regions if it could have had one.

Hitler was clever enough to make his first moves in directions which had a certain color of reason. The public had its shrewd guesses; but it also wanted information and wanted time. And if this is true of the present outbreaks (whose result will tend to dissuade all future would-be felons from the housebreaking technique), it will be far more true of future international disturbance. No future war is likely to be a simple police case in its origins. To rely on the felon analogy for the employment of force is to dismiss too easily the deep roots of war, and to evade the world-wide responsibility for inquiry into the sources of trouble.

Unlike the Building of a Nation

In the building of a nation, it is possible to put first the establishment of authority and public order, and let justice find its way by degrees. This is true because for domestic purposes the rough outlines of justice are already understood. But in the building of an international order, it is impossible to move a force-sustained authority ahead faster than justice. Peace can be durable only so far as it is recognized to be just; and the problem of justice among nations is not one which is already understood; it is difficult, irregular, and out of analogy with any domestic law which can be built on the approximate equality of human individuals. The domestic policeman has to enforce only what everybody agrees is just. The international policeman would have to enforce what few or none, at the moment, could be sure is just.

Hence the provision of a world force, police and reserve, turns out to be an embarrassment to its creators and to the public. It could not be otherwise. Agreed, we shall have a great gun. But who shall hold it? At whom shall it be aimed? Who shall pull the trigger? Are these problems merely subsequent and minor details? Should we pass them by and vote anyway for the great gun? Or are they the essence of the whole situation?

In the current discussion, the issues revolve about the question whether the force is to be used against great powers or against lesser powers or against both. If it is to be used against any of the great four or five, it would need to be a very considerable force, and would be as likely to set off a new war as to prevent one. If, however, it is to be used only against the lesser powers, it is hard to escape the impression, right or wrong, that the force is an instrument for confirming a great-power ascendancy already too extreme. This is a genuine dilemma.

The Russian Position

What is reputed to be the Russian position would make it impossible for the security council to bring force to bear against any of the great powers on the council. For if any such power is to have the right to vote on any charge against itself, and if a negative vote by such a power shall defeat any motion, the great powers lift themselves above attack. To distrustful lesser powers, the world organization then begins to look like a Holy Alliance for keeping the rest of the world in order. This is certainly not the intention; the idea back of the Russian position is the sound one that an attack upon one of the great powers is already another world war, and that its possibility must not be provided for; that is, they *must* reach peaceable solutions of their difficulties, because of their responsibility.

The others however must reach peaceable solutions because they will be forced to do so. This seems a little one-sided!

But since the great powers, if they are resolved never to fight each other, will always have enough force to persuade the lesser powers to arbitrate their disputes, the question arises whether the provision of a world force is essential. If it is not to serve an evenhanded requirement on small and great alike, it might be simpler to omit it!

But perhaps this dilemma between great and small powers misses the main point. It is not against the great or the small but against the war-loving power as contrasted with the peace-loving power that the force is supposed to be aimed. As long as we keep thinking in terms of the international felon, the above dilemma does not arise. This felon, great or small, is taken for granted as a permanent feature of the community of nations. In current references to him he seems to continue to wear the features of a Hitler, a Mussolini or a Hirohito; he seems to lurk in the neighborhood of the old places. No one doubts the necessity of a period of surveillance when the present war is won. But is there to be no healing? Are the enemy nations to remain enemies, and the "aggressor nations" to remain aggressors? Are there regions of the world which must be held permanently under suspicion? Then our victory is indeed a physical victory and little more.

Danger of a Hollow Victory

And there is danger that this may be the case. We are told on high authority that the ideological aspect of the war has receded in importance. What is right and wrong in international affairs need no longer be emphasized; what remains is a watchful reapportionment of power and prospects among the victors, and a careful guarding of "peace and security" in the world now simplified by the reduction of the trouble-makers to impotence. Is this somber and cynical view of our victory the true one?

Or shall we write a decisive "No" against any such insolence? Shall we insist that there are no "aggressor nations" fixed in that hellish trait; that there are no chronic international felons; that there are no peoples who, guilty of felony, have ever been felons and nothing else? Shall we insist, on the other hand, that there are no nations which are not, in some angle of their policies, bad nations—except of course ourselves! And shall we refuse to put into any secondary place the persistent inquiry into the causes of war, whether in great nations or small, whether in our allies or our ex-enemies? If we have a settlement which does credit either to our morals or our intelligence, the next loci of trouble should be, not where our present troubles have arisen, but *somewhere else*. We must relieve ourselves of the burden of any world force whose main occupation is that of the loyal dog baying faithfully at an empty rathole.

If we eliminate this insistent and pernicious nonsense about the chronic international felon, and the equally chronic international saint, the answers to our persistent inquiry begin to take shape: *Who shall wield the force? At whom is it to be aimed?* We shall be solicitous that no one wields it except in the interest of justice, and to this end we must know what justice is. We shall refuse to entrust world force to a security council whose temper is not dominated by a concern to do right rather than wrong, to maintain intact that whole ideological interest in whose behoof we have believed ourselves to be fighting.

This means that we shall return to the proportions of the Chinese memorandum which set the development of law, the inquiry into causes of war, the enlargement of the resources for peaceful change—all present in the Dumbarton proposals—in the place of primary importance. And if the police force becomes, instead of an aid, a menace to peace, as it may well do, we should not be reluctant to drop it.

League Will Still Have Sanctions

The omission of such a force does not leave the league without sanctions. It still has the resources of the nations so far as they are ready to cooperate in a cause which clearly commands their assent. Such forces are not prompt to assemble; they cannot move much faster than the opinion of the several peoples involved; as a military resort, they are defective. And if future wars could be devised as felons in secret devise an operation of burglary, such force would be irresponsible. But future wars of importance involve whole peoples; they cannot be prepared suddenly or in secret. It will be even more true than in the past that there is always force enough to stop them if there is the consent of the nations —and without that consent, world force is itself a new danger.

The effort to make resistance to international brigandage prompt and adequate must address itself first to the moral and mental equipment of mankind: the moral force of law and the moral force of opinion are still the major defenses of peace.

Confidence Is Necessary

In regard to the cement of the future world order, Zechariah Chaffee has recently remarked: "We shall either be part of an armed camp, or we shall be part of a town meeting. I'd much rather be part of a town meeting." In terms of numbers, the world would make a rather small town meeting; not more than seventy-five members in all. But the members of the world village are extremely unlike, whereas those of the town meeting are much alike and know each other well. The town meeting succeeds in reaching non-violent settlements because, owing to this mutual knowledge, all members, young and old, rich and poor, have confidence in its ability to reach a rough justice and in its desire to do so.

In the world town meeting, that moral unity does not yet exist: it must be created. No state today, if it could help itself, would submit its destiny to a majority vote of the whole society of nations. Until that confidence is achieved, world government in the sense of an enforcement of the decisions of a security council will run the risk of progressively undermining its own welcome and authority. The appeal to force in advance of the development of a world opinion can only tend to disrupt the organization itself. For world force, apart from world confidence, is a nest of world suspicions.

Mr. Dewey Is Lucky!

By Oswald Garrison Villard

IF Governor Dewey is a man of real depth he may give profound thanks in the years to come that his was not the responsibility of leading the United States out of the wilderness in which it finds itself. Had he been chosen president he would not merely have had to deal with the most far-reaching, even terrifying, questions ever to confront a chief executive. But he would have been held accountable for every one of the evil legacies of the Roosevelt administration, and would have instantly been told, had anything gone wrong, that it would not have happened had his predecessor remained in office. Thus, if the Dumbarton Oaks proposal for a league of United Nations had gone on the rocks during his presidency, he would have been charged with the accountability and told it would not have happened had Franklin Roosevelt continued to direct American affairs.

In a sense there is elemental justice in Mr. Roosevelt's having to carry on to reap the whirlwind he has sown or helped to sow, not only as to the war and the postwar world but as to our domestic situation. Who but he should be compelled to put an end to the terrible maladministration of his own creation, the hideous waste, inefficiency, duplication of effort, the employment of utterly incompetent heads of departments and bureaus, the endless intrigues, the fantastically overmanned bureaucratic machine and the prodigal expenditure of public funds which threatens either bankruptcy or inflation? Is it not just that to him should be given the task of doing away, if he can, with the wartime government controls, and leading the republic back to the paths of sound financial control and capable administration, without which no sound liberal progress is possible?

President's Power Increased

The extraordinary extent of the President's victory will actually add to the problems and dangers he is facing. He has every reason to be happy over the clean sweep that is his. He is entitled to say that by a small majority his fellow citizens have approved of his actions during the last four years. But he has been voted not only a clean bill of health. Actually he has been given dictatorial powers. When any action of his is challenged hereafter he need only say that he has received a popular mandate to go ahead in his own way. His party's leaders and the rank and file in Congress may now be expected to bow before his supreme political power as never before. His will may prove to be the law, for there will be even less opposition to him in Congress than in the past, unless something unforeseen should arise. He has again shown that he can sway the people in the face of a largely hostile press.

But all this unparalleled power will bring to Mr. Roosevelt greater burdens and still greater responsibilities. He who plays a lone hand may get all the praise if he takes the tricks, but if he loses he has no one with whom to share the responsibility or the guilt. Mr. Roosevelt will not be able to claim that he had a hostile Congress on his hands to checkmate his moves. He will not face Mr. Wilson's dilemma after the Republican congressional victory in 1918. He will, moreover, be inextricably bound up with what comes out of this war and all the developments of foreign policy. If the European world now goes over to communism, he must shoulder whatever American responsibility there may be for that vast change. He will have to explain to his fellow citizens in that case why it is that, after all the sacrifices we have made and are making to preserve the world for democracy, we are apparently merely contributing to a change in the totalitarian form and the further banishment of the democratic ideal from the world.

East Europe a Portent

If anybody questions this possibility let him read the article by Edgar Snow in the current *Saturday Evening Post*. This veteran foreign correspondent declares that "capitalism as we know it in America" will cease to exist in all eastern Europe. In Poland, in Rumania, in Czechoslovakia and the other eastern European countries the swing to Russia and probably the Russian economic system, is certain. England is trying to save Greece, but the communist movement in that country is alarmingly strong, and as for Turkey, with the Balkans in Stalin's hands there is no hope whatever for her outside the sphere of Russia.

Czechoslovakia led off when it deliberately made a treaty of alliance with Russia, the significance of which has escaped most American observers. It meant that Czechoslovakia had decided not to entrust its safety to England and France hereafter, and that it threw itself wholeheartedly into the arms of the Soviets. Here is the De Courcy newsletter from London for November saying that if military things "do not soon end up satisfactorily, political complications on the Continent will undoubtedly begin to make difficulties for us in many ways. In fact the situation would be a very serious one. There is a drift toward confusion which must be arrested as quickly as possible. *There is hardly a country which is free from the threat of civil war encouraged by well financed revolutionary movements.*" (De Courcy's italics.) The fight for the control of France is now in the open, which is one reason for the probable meeting of Roosevelt and Churchill and perhaps Stalin in France.

The Future of Germany

Plainly Mr. Roosevelt faces tests which will dwarf anything he has yet dealt with. The very problem of the reorganization of Germany involves the economic health of the entire Continent. If it is torn to pieces and despoiled of its machinery, that will bear down as heavily upon non-German parts of Europe as upon the Germans themselves. And if—which heaven forefend—the net result should be the domination of most of Europe by Stalin and the isolation of England, Mr. Roosevelt's position in history and in the regard of his countrymen will in large

measure be judged by this outcome. The White House reports that it has received many telegrams since the election announcing that "isolationism is dead." There have been stranger happenings in this world than would be America's finding herself wholly isolated as a result of the war, for victory in which it has made such vast sacrifices in treasure and in the greatest of treasures—American lives.

If Dewey Had Been Elected

Now it is true that if Mr. Dewey had been elected he, too, would have faced these problems, and he would have been handicapped by his absurd charges that President Roosevelt was deliberately selling the Democratic party out to the Communists. The hope that many Americans held was that, if Mr. Dewey had been elected and really undertaken to clean house in Washington, great headway could have been made by reorganizing the government, by introducing sound business methods and principles, efficiency of management, integrated public machinery, proper accounting and rigid control of the purse strings, along the lines of his achievements at Albany. That would have meant the fortifying of American democracy against any conflict with a largely communistic world by strengthening our own house and reinvigorating our own democracy. For it is the simple truth that the confusion, misgovernment, extravagance and waste at Washington have weakened our democracy down to its very roots. You cannot have complete confusion and so much inefficiency—side by side with the magnificent and never paralleled efficiency of the industrial production for the war—without raising doubts in many quarters as to whether democracy can meet the problems of this incredible age.

Again, the whole question of postwar reconstruction looms up before the President. This includes the necessity of salvaging everything possible to prevent inflation or bankruptcy, the removal of wartime government controls upon prices and production, the return of industry to peacetime economy. Can he possibly grapple with these problems when he was unable to reply in any way to Governor Dewey's overwhelming indictments of his maladministration, the duplication of bureaus, the needless officials, the burdens placed upon farmers and business men and taxpayers generally by the totally unnecessary red tape and contradictory official interference? Yet if we are to uphold democracy as the ideal form of government, it is certain that we can do so only by proving that it is clean and effective and efficient, not only in war methods but in peace.

Roosevelt and Congress

There is the Congress. Mr. Roosevelt has not been able to get on with it heretofore, even alienating some of his party followers. Now, as said above, he is in a stronger position than ever before. Will he use it to dominate arrogantly, or will he cooperate fully, be willing to share more of his responsibility with the leaders of Congress and help that body to strengthen its own machinery, to end its own deficiencies, to become not only more responsive to the popular will but swift in putting its decisions into effect? For the weakness of not only our parliament, but of all democratic legislative bodies, has been one of the outstanding points of attack by the totalitarians.

In other words the Roosevelt victory has brought out more clearly than ever how we, too, are involved in the tremendous world revolution that is going on. Let no one mistake this or underestimate the gravity of what confronts us, or the peril to democracy. That there would be a tremendous economic overturn and violent social convulsions everywhere was one of the reasons advanced by the anti-war group in this country against our entry into the war. We opposed America's going into the struggle without complete understanding of what was involved, what was certain to come out and how powerful the underneath forces were. The stage is now set in this country for a powerful labor party. To that no one can have a legitimate objection. But side by side with it there will be a great development of communist and fascist forces. What the attitude of the returning troops will be no one can foretell.

Return to Integrity Needed

Above all, if Mr. Roosevelt is really to profit most by this vote of confidence and serve his country best, he should put aside every thought of the fifth term and return to the standard of ethics and political honesty which distinguished his earlier years. It is time for him to cut loose from those base associates, the city bosses, who have contributed so much to his re-election. I have said before in this journal that no really liberal government in this country can be built up by such deviations from moral standards as have increasingly marked Mr. Roosevelt's administration, and that Mr. Roosevelt has struck deadly blows to the moral standards of personal and political life and added enormously to the mental and moral confusion of the hour. If he is to meet the test of the days that are to come he will need to fall back upon all the ethical reserves that he has and all the support that he can possibly gain from those who will not compromise in their support of democracy, who believe that the sole road to safety is unyielding devotion to ethical ideals.

Praeludium

IN WHOM we live and move and have our being,
Thou master of the man shaped out of clay,
Who hast endowed us with a sense of seeing
Thy pulsing presence in the common day:

On ships and shadowed fields I knew thy nearness,
Past rows of houses I have felt thy grace;
And there are those who with an inner clearness
Find they have touched the radiance of thy face.

The earth is fragrant with thy gentle breathings;
Thy goodness is the life of all that lives.
Thou art the peace above the passions' seethings,
The calm which gathers in the fugitives.

That in thy loving-kindness we are clad
Makes us rejoice and be exceeding glad.

GERHARD FRIEDRICH.

Is Luther to Blame?

By George F. Hall

DEAN INGE, who has been out of the headlines for some time, returns to them with the assertion, according to *Time,* that "if we wish to find a scapegoat on whose shoulders we may lay the miseries which Germany has brought upon the world, I am more and more convinced that the worst evil genius of that country is not Hitler or Bismarck or Frederick the Great, but Martin Luther. . . . Lutheranism is essentially German. . . . It worships a God who is neither just nor merciful. . . . The law of nature, which ought to be the court of appeal against unjust authority, is identified with the existing order of society, to which absolute obedience is due. . . . We must hope that the next swing of the pendulum will end Luther's influence in Germany."

A Repeated Charge

It is possible that the full text of Dean Inge's statement may be more disciplined in tone than these sentences quoted by the news magazine. Nevertheless, the thing which the "gloomy dean" is here saying is the same thing many highly respected persons have been saying lately. One of our more protean American college professors, a darling of the women's clubs, devoted a whole book to this thesis not long ago. *From Luther to Hitler,* he called it. So it seems time to ask frankly, Is this thesis sound? Is Luther to blame for the miseries caused by nazism?

It can be understood why some may think of Luther as an "evil genius," and even as the "worst evil genius." In his *Luther in the Light of Recent Research,* Boehmer has shown the lack of an objective biography of the reformer. Men approach him either to praise or damn. It is therefore not too surprising that Dean Inge is no more objective than have been the rest. His subjective epithet, accordingly, need not disturb us or detain us. But it is in order to examine the basis of his judgment.

Is Lutheranism German?

Now in the first place, it needs to be noted that an objective study of what Luther actually thought and taught is rather easy. Few great figures in church history have left students so complete a record. All of his writings, published and unpublished, are available, as well as his voluminous correspondence, his after-dinner conversations, his memoranda on many subjects written in the margin of books, especially the Bible. We even have the secretary's accounts of the meetings of his Bible translation committee, and this contains much extraneous, but interesting, material, such as off-the-record remarks, anecdotes and jibes. There is no material connected with Luther that might be termed esoteric oral tradition. If, then, Dean Inge is right, we should find the basis for his charge against Luther in Luther's own legacy.

Let us consider the case as the dean makes it. Lutheranism, he says, is essentially German. Is it? No one would deny, of course, that Luther was a German or that he appealed to the German people. He said that he was born for the Germans and would serve them. But Lutheranism is no more essentially German than Episcopalianism is essentially English. There are some Lutherans, it is well to remember, who are episcopalian. The Swedish Lutherans, for example, are Lutheran in doctrine, episcopalian in system.

The principles of the Reformation were sounded in many countries before Luther ever wrote his Ninety-five Theses. Preaching in the vernacular, congregational singing, catechisms for purposes of instruction, the translation of the Bible into the vernacular—all these antedated Luther and in countries other than Germany. But Luther promoted these four things so well that it has remained for recent scholars to show that he was not the first to do them.

What were the essential doctrines of the Reformation? Justification by faith, the authority of the Scriptures, the priesthood of all believers, Christian liberty. None of these was invented by or became the sole property of Luther. Luther advocated a certain state-church plan, to be sure, but only as a temporary expedient. His ideal was the separation of church and state. But this state-church plan was nothing new. With variations it may be found in Constantine, Gregory VII and Innocent III. Therefore it is inaccurate to say that Lutheranism is essentially German from the point of view of history.

Wide Variations in Pattern

As a matter of objective fact, Lutheranism exhibits a wide and complex variety. Dissenters from Lutheran bodies still use the name Lutheran in their official titles, still use Luther's catechism for the instruction of the young, still follow voluntarily the pericopes. Liturgy might indicate a common national culture, but there is no uniformity in Lutheran liturgy. Some Lutherans use no liturgy. In some liturgical Lutheran bodies each church and pastor eliminate or add as seems best. All this indicates how difficult it is to maintain that Lutheranism has any essential national or cultural pattern.

There would have been a Reformation had Luther never lived. Each country in northern Europe was ready. Luther provided the spark. All the northern European nations, England included, profited from Luther—and then went on to formulate their own kind of Lutheranism. To brand every Lutheran as "essentially German" is the rashest sort of generalization. The Anglican Church, Dean Inge should know, has its own debt to Luther, its own heritage from him.

But Lutheranism's God, Dean Inge insists, is unjust and unmerciful. He may have found this in certain misrepresented passages in Luther's *Bondage of the Will.* This is a work widely circulated by Calvinists. But over against this controversial work there is an unbroken continuity in Luther from the Ninety-five Theses to his deathbed emphasis on the justice and mercy of God.

The true treasure of the church, Luther said in 1517,

is the gospel. That gospel, epitomized in John 3:16, he repeated over and over on his deathbed. His *Preface to Romans,* which brought a strange warmth to Wesley's heart (did Dean Inge never hear of John Wesley?), his *Small Catechism,* even passages in the *Bondage of the Will* indicate his thought of God as merciful and just. God's righteousness and holiness condemn sin wherever found, but his mercy, his pure love, overcome that sin, not indeed through man's merit but simply because he trusts in the God who is love. Granted that Luther was not thoroughly consistent and that he can be quoted on both sides of many issues, yet on this particular issue of major importance he was very consistent.

Lutheran 'Obedience'

"Absolute" obedience to the existing order of society, according to Dean Inge, is one of the ideas that stem from Luther. In the sense in which the dean uses the term "absolute," the charge is false. Neither is the position of obedience to the state one which Luther originated nor is it unique in Lutheranism. It was formulated long before Luther, and it is common among almost all Christian groups.

The problem here really goes back to the New Testament, not Luther. There we are taught that there is no ethical inconsistency in practicing a stewardship of money toward both church and state (Matt. 22:15-22). From this passage and John the Baptist's advice to soldiers (Luke 3:14) Augustine justified war in his *Reply to Faustus.* St. Paul (Rom. 13:1-8) and the Petrine tradition (I Peter 2:13-17) urge Christians to pay taxes, to pray for the emperor and to be obedient. Here are the roots; not in Luther.

It is true that Luther, in his *Exposition of the 82nd Psalm,* does say on the basis of the passages I have indicated that organized society is the work of God. And in *Against the Robbing and Murderous Horde of Peasants* he does say: "It does not help the peasants when they pretend that all things were created free and common, and that all of us alike have been baptized. For under the New Testament Moses does not count. For there stands Christ and subjects us with our bodies and our property to the emperor and the law of the world, where he says Luke 20:25, Romans 13 and I Peter 2." Therefore he argues that those who die on the ruler's side in such a struggle are the true martyrs, while the peasants are damned in body and soul.

Conscience Must be Obeyed

Perhaps this was what Dean Inge had in mind when he talked about Luther's doctrine of obedience. But it is hardly the complete picture. Luther also wrote a pamphlet on *Whether Soldiers, Too, Can Be Saved.* In it he discusses war and the state frankly. He compares war to a cruel surgeon who injures and cuts away to prevent a great sickness. War thus becomes the instrument of God, and a Christian can participate in a just war. (Cf. Augsburg Confession, Article XVI.) A just war, Luther declares, is one of defense in which the other country has attacked first. Putting down rebellion is another just cause for fighting.

But Luther does not stop there. He says that the Christian should refuse to participate in an unjust war because he must obey God rather than man. If he is uncertain as to whether it is an unjust war or not, he can clear his conscience by taking the word of the state. If, however, he is convinced that it is an unjust war, he should refuse to take part and should with willingness and cheerfulness accept whatever is meted out to him for his stand by the state. Conscience must be followed, but never to the extent of armed rebellion against the state. The Christian should seek by all peaceful measures possible to change that which is evil in the state.

It is true, as Horton points out in his *Contemporary Continental Theology,* that Gogarten interpreted Luther in such a way as to correlate with nazi ideology. But Luther can no more be blamed for that than for the ability of Dean Inge and others to twist such teaching as I have outlined into a claim that Luther stood for "absolute" obedience to the existing order of society. As a matter of fact, Luther's position does not differ greatly from that of most churches in this war. And obviously, it is not "essentially German."

Freedom of the Individual Christian

Luther's supreme emphasis on the freedom of the individual Christian in relation to the existing religious order should not have to be pointed out. In his *Prefaces to the Apocalypse* he holds that each man may have his own opinion as to whether that book is or is not inspired. At Worms he took his stand on Scripture, reason and conscience. Luther does demand "absolute" obedience to God's commands, but he makes neither the state nor the church the supreme voice of God—and that makes all the difference. The supreme voice of God, according to Luther, the individual Christian discerns in Scripture, reason and conscience.

Does Dean Inge wish to imply that Anglicans do not obey the existing order of society? Has he forgotten so soon the valiant stand of contemporary Lutherans in Germany, Norway and Denmark? Were these men revolting against Luther? Or when some of them suffered martyrdom were they showing a boldness which they had caught from Luther's teaching? Or is it the deeper truth that they stood as they did because they were Christians in the same line of historical continuity that runs through Paul, Hus, Luther, Tyndale and so down the ages?

If there are those who wish to foster divisions and misunderstanding in the universal church they may applaud Dean Inge for another "provocative" article. But those who pray, even in time of war, for ecumenicity will lament the unkind, unjust, unhistorical and wholly inaccurate statements which he has employed to wound once again the broken body of Christ.

Today

TOO LONG we seek, O Lord of high adventure,
The spell that lures in ancient tinseled glory.
Strike every idol down, renew our vision;
Teach us to see our age, and sing its story.

THOMAS CURTIS CLARK.

BOOKS

Temple's Testament

THE CHURCH LOOKS FORWARD. *By William Temple, Archbishop of Canterbury. The Macmillan Company, $2.00.*

WILLIAM TEMPLE died October 26, 1944. This volume of his principal addresses during the year and a half beginning with his "enthronement" at Canterbury, April 23, 1942, may be considered as his last will and testament to the Anglican Church and to the whole Christian world, in which his leadership was valued and by which his memory will be cherished. The very fact that he was not consciously delivering his final message renders more significant the suitability of these utterances to occupy that place. Here Dr. Temple discusses the topics which were always foremost in his interest.

In these twenty-five addresses taken together—and, one might almost say, in each of them taken separately—there is his characteristic combination of Christian conviction and theological clarity with profound and intelligent concern for the concrete business of living. As an advocate of social justice, better conditions for labor, and fair dealing among men and nations, he spoke earnestly and worked assiduously. But these interests never seemed to him detachable from the primary necessity of thinking clearly about the fundamental truths of religion, recognizing God as a factor in every human situation, and maintaining the attitude of a devout and humble Christian.

To American Protestants it seems incongruous to speak of the "enthronement" of such a man. One suspects that it seemed so to him. But it is the traditional technical word. That neither the terminology nor the pomp of that ceremony gave him any delusions of grandeur is evident in the style and substance of his address on that occasion, which forms the opening chapter of this book. It was no merely verbal humility which moved him to quote the words of his own father, spoken on a similar occasion: "We claim for ourselves the apostles' labors, not their honors." With complete awareness of the position of high dignity and responsibility he was assuming in his own church, he called for "a deepening loyalty to our Anglican tradition of catholic order." But to this he at once added an appeal for "Evangelical immediacy in our approach to God" and for "liberal acceptance of new truth." From these three principles, which may be called the fundamental planks in the platform of his administration, he moved to a call for the fullest possible cooperation with the followers of Christ in every communion: "Let us join with all our fellow Christians who will join with us in bearing witness to the claim of Christ to rule in every department of human life and to the principles of his kingdom."

Dr. Temple died at the age of sixty-two. For exactly one-half of his life he had been an active participant in the ecumenical movement, having been selected by the archbishops in 1912 to represent the Anglican Church in conference with other communions; and for fourteen years, or almost one-fourth of his life, he had been chairman of the Faith and Order movement. This dominant interest has a foremost place in this volume of addresses and furnishes their most continuously sustained note. It was the central theme in his "enthronement" address, in which he reminded the assembled dignitaries of his church that "St. Paul saw the church as the fellowship in which all earthly divisions are abolished"; and it was the topic of his first address to the Convocation of Canterbury, a month later, in which he said that "the fundamental anomaly is that any two disciples of our Lord should not be in communion with one another."

Viewing from a non-episcopal standpoint the details of his discussion of the problem of reunion, this reviewer is of the opinion that neither in the addresses collected in this book nor elsewhere did Archbishop Temple mark out any clear line of advance toward union between his church and those churches which do not adhere to the episcopal system, except on the condition that the latter should capitulate and come in. To be sure, he explicitly repudiates any such suggestion, and points out the improbability of the wholesale conversion of other communions to "our whole system of faith and order as we have ourselves received it." Nevertheless, when he confronts the question of the ministry, which he recognizes as "the main point of difficulty in our negotiations with any of the non-episcopal communions," he has nothing more helpful to say about it than that the non-episcopal ministries, though "blessed and owned by the Holy Spirit," are "irregular," and that "we cannot in practice recognize what we regard as irregular ministries, however effective in their own spheres, until there is an operative decision to unite in a way that ends the irregularity." Clearly, then, though he had, only a few pages earlier, described the acceptance of the episcopal view by other bodies as "most unlikely," he bases his hope of ultimate union on the supposition that this is less improbable than an extension of Anglican tolerance to equal that ascribed to the Holy Spirit. This judgment is probably correct.

Yet the contribution of Archbishop Temple to the ecumenical movement was of incalculable value. It consisted not in offering a program or a platform, for he had neither, but in cultivating and exhibiting an attitude. He generated about him and throughout the vast range of his influence the atmosphere of Christian fraternity which is the first condition of progress toward unity.

The volume contains wise discussions of many other topics. The address entitled "The Crisis of Western Civilization" seemed to the author to strike the keynote for the whole collection. The title of the volume is derived from a series of five addresses under the heading, "The Church Looks Forward." If the other strikes the keynote, these state and develop the theme. They are worth a careful reading. The title itself sounds a courageous call. The church is not through; it is not a useless vestigial appendage of the social organism; it confronts a responsibility and has the resources with which to carry it. The argument supports this thesis. A study of these chapters—and all the others—will be amply rewarding to anyone who wishes to think soberly about the place of religion in the present stormy time and in the difficult days ahead.

W. E. GARRISON.

Books in Brief

WINTER CHERRY, A NOVEL OF THE T'ANG DYNASTY. *By Keith West. The Macmillan Company, $2.00.*

It is a pity that the American publishers of this novel—it originally appeared in England under the title *Ma Wei Slope*—offer it as "escape literature." That is often a derogatory and almost always a meaningless term. This story does not invite withdrawal from life even though it is laid in a far-off time and place. Eighth century China's ways of

meeting the problems of society were different from ours, and on the whole costlier, but to see them from the inside, as Mr. West enables the reader to do, is an enlarging experience. Not that there are any laborious disquisitions on customs and ideology in the book. Background, characters and plot are of a piece, and the style, reticent and economical, seems to capture the genius of the civilization it portrays. The people are thoroughly real—Winter Cherry, the emperor's unwilling concubine; Ah Lai, her sweetheart; the emperor himself, lost to everything but love of the Lady Yang; even Han Im, the eunuch, who contrives Winter Cherry's escape. The plot, apparently based in part on historical events, is intriguing, the dialogue witty and intelligent. Altogether, this is an exquisite little masterpiece.

THE BATTLE AGAINST ISOLATION. *By Walter Johnson. University of Chicago Press, $3.00.*

This is far from being a complete record of the influences which moved America toward participation in the war and those which sought to hold it back, or of all the steps which led to the final result. In such a history of opinion and events, there would certainly be room for a mention of President Roosevelt's "again and again and again" speech in Boston the week before the 1940 election. But the President is, in fact, a minor character in the story here presented, which is concerned chiefly with the work of the Committee to Defend America by Aiding the Allies and for the most part revolves about William Allen White and Clark Eichelberger. Mr. White is quoted as writing (December 20, 1940): "If I was making a motto for the Committee to Defend America by Aiding the Allies, it would be 'The Yanks Are Not Coming.' We could not equip them and feed them if they went. . . . War would defeat the end for which our committee is organized." This is a carefully and competently written history of the effort to aid the Allies while remaining safely neutral and to frustrate the "isolationists" who thought it could not be done.

CHRONICLE OF AN AMERICAN CRUSADER. *By Samuel S. Mayerberg. Bloch Publishing Company, $1.50.*

An autobiographical account of the experiences of Rabbi Mayerberg not only with the congregations he has served in Dayton and Kansas City but in larger religious and educational enterprises, such as those involved in the founding of a Jewish chair in the Bible College of Missouri, in social reforms, and especially in fighting the Pendergast machine in Kansas City. Dr. Morgenstern, president of Hebrew Union College in Cincinnati, explains in a foreword that he gave the book its title without the knowledge or consent of the author. The book justifies the title.

THE PRAYER BOOK OFFICE: *Morning Prayer and Evening Prayer according to the American Book of Common Prayer, with Invitatories and Hymns, Antiphons to the Gospel, Canticles and other Enrichments. Morehouse-Gorham Company, $6.00.*

The Episcopal clergy will know how to use those portions of this collection which lie beyond the scope of the familiar Book of Common Prayer; or if not, they will know how to learn how. Others will find in it a rich body of traditional devotional materials, taken chiefly from the Sarum Breviary of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. The cult of the saints is a prominent feature, parthenolatry is conspicuous, and the colophon reads (in part): "To the praise and glory of the most holy Trinity, to the Honour of the Blessed Virgin Mary and of all the company of Heaven." Anglicans are invited to use the following supplication among other "enrichments" on December 8, the day of the Conception of the Blessed Virgin Mary: "Holy Mother of God, Mary ever Virgin, intercede for us unto the Lord our God." In the same connection, reference is made to the "spotless [i.e., immaculate] Conception of the Virgin," which did not become a Roman Catholic dogma until 1854. The distinction between invocation of the saints and prayer to them is nicely guarded in such phrases as, "We beseech thee, Almighty God, that the Blessed Apostle Andrew may implore for us thine aid."

Books Received

The Children of Light and the Children of Darkness. By Reinhold Niebuhr. Scribners, $2.00. (To be reviewed.)

An American Peace. By Neil MacNeil. Scribners, $2.75. (To be reviewed.)

The Angel of Peace. By John Amos Comenius. Pantheon Books, $2.00. (To be reviewed.)

War and Its Causes. By L. L. Bernard. Henry Holt, $4.25. (To be reviewed.)

Mentor Graham, The Man Who Taught Lincoln. By Kunigunde Duncan and D. F. Nickols. University of Chicago Press, $3.75. (To be reviewed.)

Edward Bellamy. By Arthur E. Morgan. Columbia University Press, $5.00. (To be reviewed.)

Frances Willard, From Prayers to Politics. By Mary Earhart. University of Chicago Press, $3.75. (To be reviewed.)

Tell Me About Jesus. By Mary Alice Jones. Rand McNally & Co., $2.00. For young children. Many illustrations, some in color, and dialogues between a small boy and his parents, competently written by one of the recognized experts in this field.

The Rube Goldberg Plan for the Postwar World. By Rube Goldberg. Franklin Watts, 285 Madison Ave., New York, $1.00. About thirty cartoons in which Mr. Goldberg exhibits working drawings for his diverting and ingenious devices to make life pleasanter in a brave new world. Comic interlude to relieve the tensions of overstrained planners of postwar betterment.

Nevertheless. By Marianne Moore. Macmillan, $1.25. A book without pictures could scarcely be made out of fewer words. There are 14 pages of print containing six poems. The author's work is praised by T. S. Eliot, Ezra Pound and "e e cummings." It is always subtle and verbally skillful, generally descriptive in a keenly penetrating way, sometimes more deeply meaningful.

The Ghost of Dunkerley. By William Henry Long. Dorrance, $1.00. A Christmas tale in tiresome verse.

The Third Front through the Paths of Faith, Hope and Love. By Glenn Clark, Glenn Harding and Starr Daily. Macalester Park Pub. Co., St. Paul 5, Minn., $2.00. The first of the three authors writes of faith, the second of hope, the third of love. They tell of wonderful things that happened in connection with their "schools of prayer" in many cities and on the road between them. The record is published because they "promised the Lord that only if He gave us a definite *yes* should we reveal these miracles to the world."

A Great Time to be Alive, Sermons on Christianity in Wartime. By Harry Emerson Fosdick. Harper, $2.00. This book does not need to be reviewed. It needs only to be announced. It contains twenty-five of Dr. Fosdick's recent sermons. The title and the subtitle are both accurately descriptive. The dominant mood is one of courage and hope in the presence of great opportunities; and the sermons are not about war but about Christianity, with constant awareness of the testing to which war subjects the resources of men and of religion.

Verdict on India. By Beverley Nichols. Harcourt, $2.50. (To be reviewed.)

Pilots Also Pray. By Tom Harmon. Thomas Y. Crowell Co., $2.50. The personal story of the famous Michigan football player who became an almost equally famous pilot as a lieutenant in the army air corps. He has been twice reported missing but turned up later. The praying and the wearing (and distribution) of Roman Catholic scapular medals are features treated with sim-

plicity and sincerity, but prayer is less prominent in the story than in the title.

The Leathernecks Come Through. By W. Wyeth Willard. Revell, $2.50. Vivid personal narrative, and a very good one, of a chaplain who was equally active in rescuing and tending the wounded under fire in the Solomons and in saving souls by evangelistic preaching and distribution of the Scriptures.

Fighting Joe Hooker. By Walter H. Hebert. Bobbs-Merrill Co., $3.50. (To be reviewed.)

Getting Acquainted with Jewish Neighbors. By Mildred Eakin. Macmillan, $1.00. Schools, churches and families may profitably use this intelligent and attractive guide to the understanding of Jewish ideas and festivals and to the practice of friendly cooperation by Christians with Jews. With ample and accurate information and in a winsome manner, Mrs. Eakin attacks the ignorance which is the root of prejudice. The book is not written for children, but teachers in both public and church schools may use it to advantage.

CORRESPONDENCE

Against Peacetime Conscription

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: I read with deep interest Senator Reynolds' statement in The Christian Century for November 8 to the effect that he favored postponement of the peacetime draft issue until after the war. Senator Pepper of Florida comes out against postwar conscription altogether in the November *Parents' Magazine,* as one contributor to an excellent symposium on the problem. It occurs to me that Christian Century readers would be interested in the names of other bodies which have come out against the enactment of military conscription during the war, in addition to those listed in the editorial reporting Reynolds' position, and other religious bodies. Here is a list of educational, civic and labor bodies that have come out for the postponement of conscription legislation:

1. National Education Association, Educational Policies Commission.
2. American Association of School Administrators.
3. American Council on Education, Problems and Plans Committee.
4. National Congress of Parents and Teachers.
5. United States Student Assembly.
6. American Association of Colleges, National Commission on Christian Higher Education.
7. National Child Labor Committee, Board of Trustees.
8. Socialist Party, U.S.A.
9. Postwar World Council.
10. Workers Defense League.
11. Illinois Federation of Labor, and other important A.F. of L. unions.
12. Sixteen independent railroad organizations.

This does not exhaust the list, but it does indicate a rising crescendo of opposition to the passage of the May bill or similar bills at the present moment. The C.I.O., which has been spending all its efforts at re-electing President Roosevelt, may now take a positive stand. A number of high officials are known to be opposed to peacetime military conscription.

Divinity School, ERNEST LEFEVER.
Yale University.

President Roosevelt's Good Faith

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: Since Mr. Roosevelt is to be president for four years more, I should like to comment on the charges made in many of your editorials and in Mr. Villard's article of October 25 to the effect that the President's increasingly belligerent measures, especially during 1941, were in violation of principles announced in his public statements, particularly those prior to the election of 1940, and that he was consequently guilty of deceiving the American people and breaking faith with them. I shall confine myself to the President's European policy.

At the time of the German conquests in northern Europe, the President promised in his public speeches to furnish the anti-Axis powers, so far as might be possible, with the material resources needed in their struggle and to clear away any obstacles that might arise to hinder this course of action. The policy thus stated and the various steps taken to carry it into effect obviously met with the approval of a majority in both houses of Congress and, so far as can be ascertained, of the majority of the people. We thereby became committed to the policy of giving effective aid to Britain until the defeat of the aggressors should be accomplished. The obligation so created was no less sacred than if it had been expressed in a formal agreement. If we had let the British down, it would have been an exhibition of almost unparalleled bad faith towards a people who were trusting in us for aid in a struggle against a foe determined to destroy their civilization.

In order to carry out the promises which had been made, it was necessary not only to arrange for the production of the materials needed by Britain but also to assist her in overcoming the obstacles which during the year 1941 threatened to prevent the goods from actually reaching her. The most serious of these obstacles was the German submarine warfare, and hence the measures taken by our government to cooperate with the British in resisting this warfare were strictly in accord with the commitments which we had made. It is exceedingly doubtful whether the measures in question actually had any influence in hastening Germany's declaration of war against us. They certainly, in aiding the British to hold out, had the effect of keeping the war away from our shores.

With regard to the incessantly reiterated charges of promise-breaking in connection with the unfortunate "again, again and again" speech, the President's fault in this instance consisted not in his breaking of his promise but in his making it, for he should have foreseen that the Axis states would attack us at the first convenient opportunity and thereby force us to participate actively in the war wherever it might be strategically necessary for our armed forces to fight.

College of Emporia, F. R. FLOURNOY.
Emporia, Kan.

Fighting into Each Other's Clothes

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: In the summer of 1922 I was in the city of Ulm in Germany. Some Germans were looking at the empty barracks and I heard one man say, "Thank God we do not have to live in those prisons any more." What a monstrous paradox that American boys are now fighting to free Germans from "those prisons," and at the same time some Americans propose to establish peacetime conscription for their own youth!

University of Denver, W. E. SIKES.
Denver, Colo.

Pacifist Rebellion

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: The letter of C. Stanley Lowell in your November 8 issue, referring to my article "A Name for the Pacifist," states that until pacifists have a positive program they are not revolutionists. It is true that pacifists have not yet developed a clear statement of the political implications of their position, although the thinking of many of them now points in that direction.

A pacifist political program might center around the advocacy

of a twenty-second amendment to the Constitution which would annul those sections giving Congress the power "to raise and support armies," "to provide and maintain a navy," and "to declare war," and which would strip the President of his title of commander-in-chief.

However, there is a sense in which the pacifist does have a positive political program. His actions describe what his pronouncements do not. He does not rebel against some minor law of the state which might be eliminated without altering the general nature of the state. Such opposition could indeed be purely negative. He rebels against conscription which the state regards as essential to its existence. Rebellion against the state at a point where its existence is at stake cannot be purely negative opposition. Successful rebellion by a sufficient number of pacifists would overthrow the government and create a situation which would force the pacifists to concrete, positive action as the government of a new state. When pacifism becomes rebellion against conscription, the pacifist becomes a revolutionary, for behind the negative aspects of his rebellion there must of necessity exist the form or order of national political life which the state would assume if the pacifists came into political supremacy in our society.

Methodist Church, Mount Dora, Fla. CAXTON DOGGETT.

More Questions in 1950

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: I thought Karel Hujer made his point well in the article on Czech attitudes toward Germans. The point has, however, broader application, and more needs to be said.

Suppose that in 1950 Mr. Müller or Mr. Fischer meets the American, Mr. Jones. May he not wonder, "In 1944 were you one of the airmen who fired Hamburg with bombs, when my wife was roasted alive in an air-raid shelter?"

Then there is Mr. Tohiko of Japan, who may meet Mr. Jones in 1950 and ask, "Are you the one who killed my young brother in the south Pacific and sent his jawbone home to your sweetheart?"

There is also the Belgian lady, visiting this country in 1950, who may catch sight of some of our most prominent church leaders and ask herself, "Wern't they the ones who in 1942 made speeches against feeding Europe's children, when my infant son died for lack of milk?"

It is time the Vansittarts realized that the Germans have no monopoly on atrocity.

Redvale, Colo. MARJORIE D. HARVEY.

Catholic Views on the War

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: In April I attended the meetings of the Catholic Association for International Peace, virtually an arm of the National Catholic Welfare Conference, and in July at Antioch College the Institute for International Relations, under the auspices of the Friends. As a Catholic layman and college teacher, I seemed to detect a radically different approach towards justifying this war. And I wonder whether any such difference does prevail between Protestantism generally and Catholicism.

At the Antioch institute, our part in the war seemed to be justified, if at all, solely as a self-defense measure in the sense that if we do not kill the Germans they will kill us, kill us physically. But the dominant Catholic justification of this war, as expressed by the National Catholic Welfare Conference and several leading members of the hierarchy, is that since National Socialism is a political philosophy repugnant to Catholic political philosophy we must kill Germans until they give up National Socialism.

The Rt. Rev. John A. Ryan, director of the department of social action, N.C.W.C., outstanding Catholic spokesman, answering a soldier who "expressed a wish for some higher ideal to battle for, in addition to that of national patriotism," wrote pointedly, "What ideal could be higher or more worth while than that of ridding the world of pagan nazism?" Monsignor Ryan continues that in this destruction of pagan nazism our soldiers "today have an ideal that they could regard as well worth fighting for and dying for" *(Catholic Universe Bulletin,* "Totalitarianism —New and Ugly," December 18, 1942, p. 88).

As if emphasizing that the chief justification of our war lies in destroying National Socialism (and therefore in killing National Socialists) Archbishop Spellman has addressed our soldiers about to kill Italian Fascists and German National Socialists as "modern crusaders," and regularly uses words suggestive of holy crusading.

Furthermore, nearly all American Catholic spokesmen are constantly embarrassed and apologetic about the fact, as Burnet Hershey *(Liberty,* September 9, 1944) expresses it, that "the pope has said nothing about the destruction of nazism." They answer apologetically, in the words of Prof. F. A. Herman: "However, the demand for the destruction of nazism is implied in everything ever said by any competent Catholic writer about natural law and natural rights" *(Our Sunday Visitor,* October 22, 1944). In other words, while the pope has said nothing to show that he thinks Germans must be killed until they give up National Socialism and that no peace can or may be negotiated with any National Socialistic government (with which he once negotiated a concordat), the dominant American Catholic spokesmen hold that killing Germans because they are National Socialists is the one greatest aim and justification of the war, as seen in Father Ryan's words.

Since The Christian Century is a representative Protestant publication, I would appreciate some expression as to whether this Catholic attitude meets with its endorsement or whether it raises some doubts and apprehensions in the minds of The Christian Century editors. Specifically, I am wondering whether The Christian Century sees any analogy between the present Catholic injunction to kill Germans for their National Socialism with the seventeenth century practice in the Thirty Years' War in which Catholics killed Germans who remained "heretically" Lutheran, and Lutherans killed Austrians and Bavarians who remained stubbornly Catholic.

Furthermore, would The Christian Century consider it a logical development if men like Msgr. John A. Ryan, who now urge the killing of Germans because they hold the un-Catholic philosophy of National Socialism, should eventually extend their program to killing Russians because they hold the even more un-Catholic philosophy of Communism?

We laymen, both Catholic and Protestant, have I think a right to a little help in these matters from spokesmen of all persuasions, and for that reason I humbly beg of you just a brief comment on my query.

San Antonio, Tex. AUSTIN J. APP.

[We suspect that Dr. App already knows that our answer to his two questions would be: (1) Yes; (2) Yes.—THE EDITORS.]

Threescore and Ten

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: In the *History of New Hampshire Churches,* I read these words concerning the Rev. Laban Ainsworth, "Though he has been the minister of this church for more than 74 years he is still enjoying comfortable health." In the *Congregational Quarterly,* 1875, in an article concerning "Ministers and Churches of New Hampshire," page 560, is the statement: "Laban Ainsworth. Settlement, Dec. 10, 1772; Dismission, March 17, 1858; Length of service, 75 years, 5 months." In the *Congregational Quarterly,* 1859, page 103, I read: "Deceased, March 17, 1858, Rev. Laban Ainsworth, *aet.* 100, in Jaffrey, N. H."

Denmark, Iowa. ALBERT S. KILBOURN.

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: Rev. Nathaniel Appleton served the First Church in Cambridge from 1717 to 1784, a period of 67 years.

First Church in Cambridge, Cambridge, Mass. RAYMOND CALKINS.

Niebuhr Begins Chicago Lectures

New York Theologian Delivers First of Six Discussions on Changing and Abiding Elements in History

(By Harold E. Fey)

CHICAGO, Nov. 8.—Prof. Reinhold Niebuhr of Union Theological Seminary today brought to a large audience at the University of Chicago, where Dr. John Dewey began his teaching career, the first of a series of six lectures which are expected systematically to challenge the philosophy which has dominated both this university and American education generally for the past generation. Speaking under the general title of "Changing and Abiding Elements in the Human Situation," Dr. Niebuhr chose as the subject of his first lecture, "Man as Creature and Master of Nature and History."

Raps Thomas Aquinas

After the lecture, clusters of students and professors could be seen in animated discussion on all the streets leading from Mandel Hall. There and in the faculty club this evening partisans of all shades of opinion clashed over Niebuhr's thesis that the nature of man makes impossible the transfer to the social sciences of the methodology of the natural sciences. His characterization of Thomas Aquinas as a philosopher who attempted to project into the eternal order the contingent elements of medieval society aroused considerable interest on a campus whose storm center for several years has been Mortimer Adler, exponent of the new scholasticism.

Corruption of Freedom

Dr. Niebuhr opened his lecture by declaring that the present predicament of man has come about because we are no longer capable either of anticipating or of understanding the catastrophic nature of modern history. Caught in swift technological changes, whose rapidity has obscured the abiding elements in history, our morality is incapable of making the new world community either actual or sufferable. It is a liberal illusion that because change is creative it is also redemptive. This illusion is also shared by the Marxists, who rightly sense the apocalyptic element in history but vainly imagine that their revolution leads to an order of society which is beyond the peril of perversion or catastrophe. Dr. Niebuhr noted in passing that "it is hard to deal with a nation which is committed to the idea that it is beyond ambiguity because it is beyond revolution."

Our confusion is illustrated, Dr. Niebuhr said, by the fact that we regard nazism as a throwback, instead of seeing in it a characteristic corruption of our own level of history. He held that our cultural crisis is rooted in the Renaissance, which emphasized the potentialities of the human spirit, the triumph of mind over nature. This produced the conception which made God say to man, "I created you that you might create yourselves." This Dr. Niebuhr considers the characteristic contradiction in modern culture. A man who is creature, he said, can hardly be his own creator, and the new perils in which our society is caught today illustrate the dangers of thinking that he can.

Nevertheless, five historic trends have made the idea plausible that the only changeless circumstance of our human situation is change. First the Renaissance successfully protested against the rigidities of a frozen culture. Religion must always carry man out beyond his present circumstances and even beyond reason into the realm of faith, but this gives the church no right prematurely to fix the limits of cultural advance, as the medieval church did. Second, the Renaissance also confused eternal verities with the contingent elements characteristic of human society at a given moment. Thomas Aquinas had tried to pattern an eternal order on the medieval culture. But the successful revolt of the Renaissance and the rising bourgeoisie broke through its limitations and pushed beyond.

Evolution and Technology

Third, the attempt of the medieval moralists to set absolute limits on the moral law compelled people to revolt against their domination, and the success of this effort brought the abiding elements of the law itself into discredit. Fourth, when the idea of evolution in nature later emerged, the religious community tragically tried to deny both the facts on which it was based and the conclusion to which they led. The secular community, on the other hand, accepted the idea of evolution and mistakenly attempted to transfer it to the world of history. But evolution and progress are not synonymous. Finally, the development of techniques made possible by science confirmed people's faith in change and created an optimism which refused to acknowledge that there are any limits, moral or otherwise, to change.

The resultant confusion, said Dr. Niebuhr, revolves around the ideas of destiny and freedom in human existence. He sees a striking ambivalence between voluntarism and determinism in society. Although history is "a curious mixture of freedom and necessity," the confused modern mistakenly sees man as standing outside both nature and history and mastering both. But this transference of natural evolution to present society forgets that the new potentialities are evil as well as good. Its theologians attempt to rule out the idea of original sin, forgetting that the most terrible evils are those arising from the fact of freedom itself. "The free man who does not know what to do with his freedom is dangerous."

Decision and Destiny

Dr. Niebuhr then turned to Professor Dewey's statement that "about all I have to say concerning the nature of progress is

(Continued on page 1365)

Draft Forces New Canadian Crisis

Cabinet Shake-Up Attributed to Policy of Dispatching Only Volunteers to Europe as Reinforcements

(Correspondence from Quebec)

MONTREAL, Nov. 4.—In the midst of Canada's seventh Victory Loan drive the important cabinet post of minister of national defense has changed hands, with Gen. Andrew McNaughton succeeding Col. J. L. Ralston. The latter resigned after the cabinet had met in secret session for ten days, and Prime Minister Mackenzie King invited McNaughton, recently retired as commander-in-chief of the Canadian forces overseas, to succeed him. While no public pronouncement has been made, it is generally understood that Mr. Ralston, just returned from a visit to Canadian troops on the European and Italian battlefronts, differed with the government on the policy of sending overseas only volunteers as reinforcements to the Canadian army in Europe.

* * *

Quebec Continues Opposition To Conscription

The home defense army, now numbering about 70,000 and composed of draftees, has long been the subject of political debate. Only those who volunteer are sent overseas, the King government having committed itself to the policy of retaining draftees for defense work on this continent. In general, opposition to total conscription has come from French-speaking Quebec. In 1942 a plebiscite by the people of Canada gave the government power to conscript for overseas service, but Mr. King stated that this authority would not be used without first taking a vote in Parliament.

* * *

Canadians in Holland Need Assistance

McNaughton, who was retired recently with the rank of full general, headed and organized the Canadian troops overseas until he returned to Canada in 1943 under conditions which are still clouded in secrecy. Ostensibly the reason for his retirement was age and ill-health. But war correspondents have stated without contradiction that McNaughton was opposed to dividing the Canadian army and sending part of it into Sicily and Italy as was done at the time. Now that the Canadians on the western European front are in urgent need of trained reinforcements he appears to have been right. It will be interesting to observe how he deals with the reinforcement problem when the government insists on maintaining a large number of well trained draftees in this dominion.

* * *

Closing Training Stations For Air Force

The commonwealth air training plan has

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served its purpose and training stations throughout Canada are gradually closing down. This means that the Royal Canadian Air Force, which reached a peak of over 200,000, is now rapidly decreasing in strength. Some 4,200 pre-aircrew men who were awaiting training have been demobilized, and are given the alternative of joining the army or navy, or awaiting a draft call. Chaplains for this branch of the service were being commissioned until very recently, and now it appears for the first time since war was declared that there is danger of a surplus of padres. Future developments will depend upon Canada's role in the Pacific war and on the part that the R.C.A.F. plays there.

* * *

Begin Broadcasts of Church News

Montreal city council has approved the plan of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation to erect on Mount Royal a frequency modulation and television broadcasting station, the first in Canada. The council has agreed to grant the corporation 15,000 square feet of land on the mountain on the next-highest crest to the huge illuminated cross, for a period of 15 years, but refused to give it exclusive television rights. The C.B.C. recently opened an overseas short-wave broadcasting station in the maritime provinces. On Nov. 13 Dr. W. J. Gallagher will begin a weekly broadcast of world church news over the C.B.C. network from station CBL, Toronto, at 4:30 p.m., E.D.T. Time for this broadcast is given by the C.B.C.

* * *

Appoint Port Chaplains To Meet Veterans

The Montreal and Ottawa synod of the Presbyterian Church in Canada has purchased a camp site on Lake St. Francis, near Lancaster, Ont., on which it expects to erect permanent camp buildings to provide facilities for increased leadership training. The synod's committee on postwar problems and reconstruction has recommended the appointment of port chaplains to meet returning members of the armed forces and their families, as well as other immigrants. It has also pointed out the value of refresher courses for returning chaplains, and special courses for students for the ministry returned from overseas. G. S. Lloyd, Cornwall, Ont., is the new moderator of synod.

* * *

And So Forth

Jack Miner, who started Canada's first bird sanctuary, died this week at the age of 79 years. At Kingsville in western Ontario, Miner banded 32,000 wild geese during the past 50 years, and each band carried a Scripture text. One text was credited with starting a revival among Negroes of the southern states, who thought the message was heaven-sent.

Anson C. Moorhouse, secretary of visual education of the Committee on Missionary Education, United Church of Canada, has been admitted to the American Society of Motion Picture Engineers (New York) following his experiments in special tonal equalization for church sound recording.

Your correspondent has now returned to Montreal, where he is assistant to the new command chaplain, Wing Commander Minton C. Johnston, at No. 3 Training Command Headquarters, R.C.A.F.

DECOURCY H. RAYNER.

Two Groups Draw Baptist Support

Conservative Mission Society and Roger Williams Fellowship Issue New Organs for Adherents

(Correspondence from Chicago)

CHICAGO, Nov. 13.—Northern Baptists appear to be drawing their lines for conflict in the future. The new Conservative Baptist Foreign Mission Society, which has headquarters here, announces receipts for the first 10 months of the year of more than $100,000—a sum reported to have come in without any soliciting in the field. Many Baptist conventions have authorized their officers to forward funds to either board as designated by churches or individuals. The Conservative board issues a monthly paper, *News and Views,* edited by Charles E. Tulga, pastor of Norwood Park Baptist Church here. Meanwhile, the Roger Williams Fellowship of the Northern Baptist Convention began in August the publication of a monthly, *Baptist Freedom,* edited by Sidney E. Mead of the University of Chicago divinity school. The fellowship is reported to have also appointed key representatives in each state.

* * *

Tolerance Group Warned Of Future Strife

Paul G. Hoffman, chairman of the board of the Studebaker corporation, told the Chicago Round Table of Christians and Jews in a conference here last Thursday that jobs for everyone are necessary if we are to escape totalitarianism. He declared that teamwork between labor, industry, agriculture and business is necessary if we are to achieve that end, and that the only way that may be obtained is by first attaining good will. He pointed out that although we have almost ideal industrial relations today because we are united in a war effort, there has been enough conflict to cause anxiety as to what may happen after the war. The first step in the destruction of free society in Germany, Russia and Italy, he asserted, was taken when government moved in on business. He warned that the first breach in the defenses of liberty is likely to be on the economic front.

* * *

Students Assigned on Basis of Merit

Private enterprise in education had its day here recently when 800 applicants were given entrance examinations at the University of Chicago. One applicant, a Wisconsin boy, sophomore in high school, was excused from the first year in college social science because of his broad reading in American history. The flexibility of the university's plan offers incentive to students to continue work on their own initiative during residence, promising promotion as rapidly as their achievement warrants.

* * *

Was Luther a Forerunner Of Nazism?

In a recent editorial in the *New World,* organ of the Chicago Catholic archdiocese, Fr. James Gillis comments on Lewis Mumford's *The Condition of Man* and on a book by Eugene Bagger, Hungarian convert from Judaism to Catholicism, *The Heathen Are Wrong.* "The true forerunner of modern German philosophy, and hence of nazism," he writes, "was Martin Luther." At the same time, a reprint from the September *Protestant* quotes Franz von Papen's declaration when in 1933 he signed a concordat with Cardinal Pacelli (now Pope Pius XII): "The Third Reich is the first power in the world not only to recognize but to translate into practice the high principles of the papacy." It may be that caution in judgment is in order for both comments.

* * *

And So Forth

The First Presbyterian Church of Sterling, Ill., of which Frederick Wyngarden is pastor, celebrated its centennial Nov. 5-12. Former pastors asked to participate included Floyd W. Barr of Salt Lake City, Roy W. Peyton of Knoxville, and Norman G. Richards of Verona, N. J.

In a ceremony at Augustana hospital Oct. 29, Granger Westberg was installed as chaplain by P. O. Bersell, president of the Augustana Lutheran Synod and of the National Lutheran Council. Under his direction, Lutheran theological students, nurses and pastors of the midwest area will be trained in modern procedures of ministry to persons ill and in distress.

CHARLES LESLIE VENABLE.

Quakers Confer on Draft

Meet in Richmond to Discuss Prospect of Peacetime Conscription

RICHMOND, IND., Nov. 4.—More than 200 members of the Society of Friends from all over America have been meeting here since Nov. 1 to discuss conscription. Feeling that the future of the pacifist churches and the welfare of the country are both involved in the question whether Congress should decide now on a permanent policy of universal compulsory military training, they have considered the issue from every angle. At the conclusion of the conference a statement was adopted in which the group "recorded our opposition to the adoption of universal military conscription in the United States now or at any other time. Universal military conscription violates both the rights of conscience and religious liberty."

Violates American Traditions

The statement held that conscription is "an unwise public policy." It pointed out that many of our best citizens came to this country seeking liberty and freedom from European conscription. For 150 years peacetime conscription, the statement declared, has been against the American tradition of equality among free men. Its adoption now would not constitute a guarantee of freedom from attack, since countries practicing conscription have been attacked. The conference called upon the President to work for an international agreement for the abolition of military conscription and for the universal reduction of armaments. It maintained that conscription "regiments our entire educational system" and "would gradually nullify all . . . freedom-giving and character-building institutions of the Christian tradition."

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Cavert Addresses Lutheran Services

Fourteen Churches Hold Reformation Day Observance in New York—Help Offered Churches on Tax

(Correspondence from New York)

NEW YORK, Nov. 10.—"Protestantism has made a dynamic contribution to the spirit of freedom in every other realm," declared Samuel McCrea Cavert, secretary of the Federal Council of Churches, in his address at the Reformation Day services sponsored by 14 Manhattan Lutheran churches at St. Peter's. His address emphasized that although Protestantism has been based historically upon the principle of individuality, it is now giving new attention to the principle of community. He cited the development of the ecumenical movement and the rise of the World Council of Churches as evidence of this development of a fellowship that will transcend both denominational and national lines.

* * *

Youth Program Is Launched

A youth institute, planned by representatives of 15 different denominations and a number of interdenominational and interracial organizations, held its first in a series of five Thursday evening sessions last week. It is sponsored by the youth department of the Greater New York federation of churches. Topics for discussion include "Christian Heritage for Today," "Reaching Other Young People in our Community," "A Christian and His Job" and "The Wider Christian Fellowship."

* * *

The Churches and Income Tax

A Primer on the Churches and the Income Tax, prepared by Benson Y. Landis to answer 14 frequently asked questions about the new income tax procedures effective in 1945, has been published by the Federal Council of Churches. The booklet is designed as an aid to the local church. In a foreword, Roswell P. Barnes declares that "the introduction of the new simplified individual income tax returns imposes upon every minister and finance committee of a local church the responsibility to explain to the contributors the implications of the new procedure." If this task is done adequately, he adds, possibly the churches need not suffer financially, despite the new procedures which put the conscientious and generous contributor to an inconvenience to obtain his deduction, while allowing the man who contributes nothing an unearned deduction.

* * *

Save the Children Fund Appeals for Gifts

Thousands of dolls, toys, games and other appropriate gifts are being appealed for by the Save the Children Federation's national Santa Claus party. The 1944 campaign, launched under the chairmanship of Mrs. William H. Pouch, hopes to bring Christmas cheer to 55,000 needy underprivileged children in disadvantaged rural areas and isolated mountain districts. In response to an urgent cabled appeal from the Netherlands Woman's Volunteer Corps, functioning in England, 10,000 pounds of clothing have been forwarded through the federation by the National Children's Clothing Crusade for distressed children in Holland. Over 2,000,000 pupils of nearly 900 schools in 47 states are participating in the crusade.

* * *

Islamic Mission Opens In Brooklyn

A *masjid* (place of worship), a school for the teaching of Arabic and Islamic culture, and living quarters for members of the faith—the whole occupying three buildings in the downtown Brooklyn area—were "officially opened" Sunday afternoon. Said to be the first Islamic mission in the city's history, the center will serve many people from Egypt, Morocco and Arabia. Prayers are recited five times daily. Sheik Daoud Ahmed Faisal, executive director of the mission, is assisted by imams or prayer leaders, all of whom can recite the Koran from memory, a feat required of every man who wishes to become an imam.

* * *

And So Forth

Notice has been received here that L. Mason Clarke, pastor of First Presbyterian Church, Brooklyn, 1889-1925, has died in Dorset, Vt. He was in his 85th year.

The death also is announced of Robert G. McGregor, who has been pastor of North Avenue Presbyterian Church, New Rochelle, for 34 years.

With its meeting on Nov. 16, the famous Town Hall of New York commences the celebration of its 50th anniversary. Started in 1894 by six suffragist leaders, Town Hall has expanded to national influence through the Town Meeting of the Air and other significant national and international gatherings.

The prayers of 10,000 Negroes who took part in a continuous prayer and fasting service at Holy Trinity Baptist Church the day before election were answered by the election returns. For 19 hours a steady stream of persons filled and refilled the church to pray that "God's will be done at the polls" through the re-election of President Roosevelt and Senator Robert F. Wagner.

J. HENRY CARPENTER.

Churches Will Send Gifts to Camps

Protestant churches are being asked by the Home Missions Council of North America to provide 52,000 Christmas gifts for distribution among evacuees in nine centers in which Japanese-Americans are confined.

Teachers Ask Removal of Ban on Lord's Prayer

A petition signed by the principal and 25 teachers of Flushing high school, New York, objecting to the banning of the Lord's Prayer at student assemblies, has been sent to the local board of education. It is reported that the board ordered use of the prayer discontinued after discovery that only a handful of principals still retained the prayer in assembly programs.

Condemns Desecration Of Enemy Dead

Condemnation of the reported practice by some American soldiers of using remains of Japanese bodies as souvenirs has been made by Bishop Henry St. George Tucker as president of the Federal Council of Churches. His statement followed receipt of a cabled protest against such acts from the National Christian Council of Japan, addressed to the International Missionary Council and sent via Geneva. It recalled also that President Roosevelt had recently refused to accept a letter opener carved from the bone of a Japanese soldier, which had been sent to him from the Pacific.

Interracial Meetings Consider Problems

A series of monthly services, alternating in white and Negro churches, is being conducted in New York by the interracial fellowship of that city. James H. Robinson, minister of the Church of the Master (Negro), is president of the fellowship, and Ralph H. Rowse (white) is secretary. In Newark, N. J., the fourth of a series of interracial clinics sponsored by the department of race relations of the Federal Council of Churches was held Nov. 9-10. Church and community leaders discussed local interracial ills and were helped toward solutions by experienced resource leaders.

Brethren Project Will Rebuild Herds

More than 1,000 heifers are being raised by members of the Church of the Brethren to be shipped as soon as possible to liberated countries where they will relieve the serious milk shortage and help establish permanent dairy herds. This "heifer relief project" was put into operation by the church's service committee in April 1942. Some members have given calves, others feed, while those in urban communities have contributed cash which will finance shipments. In September, 22 bred heifers were sent to Puerto Rico.

Gandhi Appeals to British Friend

A sign that Gandhi welcomes counsel from friendly people in England is seen by Horace G. Alexander, British member of the Society of Friends, in a letter he has recently received from the Indian leader. "Authority distrusts the Congress and every public body," reads the letter, published recently in the London *Friend.* "In this state of things voluntary cooperation becomes impossible. I have tried in vain to see the viceroy or members of the working committee. Now tell me what to do. I know not what to do. I am praying to God to tell me what to do. You can assist."

Catholic Women Oppose Peacetime Draft

Opposition to permanent compulsory military service after the war, according to Religious News Service, was expressed in a resolution adopted at the 22nd annual convention of the National Council of Catholic Women, which met in Toledo the last week in October.

Russian Clergy Return To Official Fold

Russian clergy who had separated from the Orthodox Church in revolutionary days to set up their own "Living Church" recently expressed their repentance and were received back into the Orthodox fold in Moscow. All were reinstated with the rank they held before the schism occurred.

Churches Provide Disaster Relief

Contribute Shelter, Food, Clothing to Victims of Tragic Fire—Church Unity Is Reformation Day Theme

(Correspondence from Northern Ohio)

CLEVELAND, Nov. 7.—The churches were quick to respond in the tragic explosion of liquid gas and the ensuing fire which claimed 200 lives and made hundreds of families homeless here ten days ago. Church and public school doors were opened to house and feed the survivors. Although the Red Cross assumed full charge without asking for contributions, many Protestant churches took special offerings for the "disaster fund" on Sunday morning and received clothing for the victims who had lost their possessions. Memorial services for the dead, many of whom were employees of the East Ohio Gas company residing in other parts of the city, have been numerous in both Protestant and Catholic churches. An interfaith memorial service, probably in Public Hall, for 68 unidentified dead has been proposed by city officials and religious leaders. No date has been set.

* * *

Regular Baptists Deplore Vatican Favors

Clevelanders have just had a look at two widely differing fundamentalist groups in the Ohio association of Regular Baptist churches and the autumn council of Seventh Day Adventists. Chief resolutions of the Baptists criticized the President for appointment of a personal representative to the Vatican and protested difficulties encountered by Protestant missionaries in obtaining passports to enter Latin American countries. An appeal for a larger membership was based upon "a united testimony and a united front" and assignment of more chaplains to Regular Baptist churches. The Adventists made elaborate plans for postwar rehabilitation and missions, appropriating $11,000,000 for all purposes. More than half this sum will be used for overseas extension work. Continued growth of Adventist schools and colleges was noted, with 120,000 children and young people now enrolled. The council approved support of the Thanksgiving-to-Christmas Bible reading program of the American Bible Society.

* * *

Reformation Day Programs Stress Unity

The Reformation Day exchange of pulpits between clergymen of the presbytery of Cleveland and the Episcopal diocese of Ohio was a conspicuous success. All the principal churches of both communions participated. Quarter-page advertisements in the newspapers announced the guest preachers. The exchange was arranged by Bishop Beverley D. Tucker, a staunch advocate of unity, and Philip Smead Bird, chairman of the presbytery's committee on approaches to unity, who preached in Trinity Cathedral in an exchange with Dean Chester B. Emerson. The positive meaning of Protestantism was emphasized by Emil N. Krafft, president of the Northeast Ohio synod, in the annual Reformation Day

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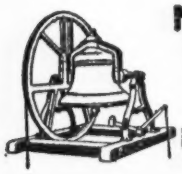

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festival of the Cleveland council of Evangelical and Reformed churches. Several Congregational ministers shared in this service in recognition of the growing local sentiment for unity between these communions. As usual, 10,000 Missouri Synod Lutherans filled Public Hall to hear Walter A. Maier of the Lutheran Radio Hour, a perennial Reformation Day visitor.

* * *

Russian Church Marks Sesquicentennial

The role of the Russian Orthodox Church in unifying Russia and leading to that nation's growth as a world power was stressed by George V. Bobrinskoy of the University of Chicago in still another Reformation Day program which marked the 150th anniversary of the Russian Orthodox Church in America. Guest speakers included among church notables Bishop Makary, head of the church's theological seminary in New York; Bishop Alexis, formerly of Alaska; Serge Snegireff, dean of the Chicago cathedral; and J. R. Kappanadze of St. Theodosius' Church here.

* * *

Shipler and Robeson Warn of Fascism

Cleveland groups have heard powerful warnings against the dangers of fascism from Guy Emery Shipler, editor of the *Churchman,* and Paul Robeson, Negro actor and musician, within the week. Dr. Shipler addressed members of the Cleveland peace committee, asserting that the mass of American people are lethargic in face of the fact of rising racial tensions and antagonisms. Robeson, who played "Othello" with distinction at the Hanna theater last week, was guest at a reception in the city club Sunday. He described the future of the Negro as inexorably bound up with the future of the world, with grave issues of minority rights and international collaboration to be determined in the next four years.

* * *

And So Forth

Donald Wonders, rector of Grace Episcopal Church, Sandusky, will become archdeacon of the diocese of Ohio Jan. 1.

E. R. Brown, who was appointed superintendent of the Cleveland Methodist district in June, was recently elected executive secretary of the Methodist Board of Home Missions and Church Extension, with headquarters in New York.

Arthur J. Culler, pastor of Heights Christian Church since its organization 15 years ago, has resigned effective Jan. 1.

Harriet-Louise H. Patterson, widely known Bible lecturer and ordained Disciple minister, has accepted a call to the Chesterland (Ohio) Community Church.

Oscar Thomas Olson was honored for his highly successful pastorate of ten years when Epworth-Euclid Methodist Church recently celebrated the 25th anniversary of its merger. Bishop Ivan Lee Holt delivered the anniversary sermon.

Lt. Col. William A. Spatig dedicated a stone marker Sunday at the spot where the Salvation Army began its work 55 years ago in the old "haymarket district" of Cleveland.

Archwood Avenue Congregational Church is observing its 125th anniversary this week. Lawrie J. Sharp has been its minister for 21 years.

O. M. WALTON.

Curtin Fails in Postwar Appeal

Parliament Rejects Bid for Increased Federal Power—Support Sought for River Development Project

(Correspondence from Australia)

MELBOURNE, Sept. 28.—The nation-wide referendum on the question of giving the federal Parliament increased powers to deal with postwar problems was defeated by about 54 votes to 46. It is believed that the chief reason for this "no" vote was a fear that the additional powers would be used by the present (Labor) government to socialize industry. Another potent influence on the negative side of the referendum was the fear of widespread industrial conscription. "Why must my daughter work in a cannery?" was the title of a widely distributed pre-election cartoon depicting an angry mother debating with a government manpower official. Unfair and misleading though it was, propaganda of this kind no doubt had a strong effect. Some think that the defeat of the referendum, coupled with the continuing coal troubles, may have important political results; they argue that the Curtin administration is to some extent discredited by the nation's rejection of its postwar plans.

* * *

TVA Is Planned for Murray River

During recent weeks discussions have begun between a number of federal, state and local government officials, with a view to achieving maximum collaboration in a large national development which will probably bear the name of the Murray Valley Authority. At the conferences which have already taken place, very flattering things have been said about your TVA, to which our people are looking for guidance in this matter. The Murray is Australia's largest river, in both length (about 1,520 miles) and volume. Its main tributary, the Murrumbidgee, is itself 1,000 miles long. The Murray flows through three states—New South Wales, Victoria and South Australia. Consequently, the problems connected with making the most use of the river cannot be handled by any one of the existing official bodies. Some of the phases of the project are: irrigation, soil conservation, closer farm settlement, afforestation, fruit growing, canning and dehydration, electric power, refrigeration, river navigation and encouragement of such decentralized secondary industries as those connected with agriculture, sheep growing and forest products. For the most part, our sprawling geography is a curse to Australians because it divides them. But perhaps this river, linked with your example of the TVA, may yet lead us to a useful measure of national unity.

* * *

Will Build Youth Center For Delinquents

C. Irving Benson, who has for several years been minister of the largest Methodist church in Melbourne (Wesley Central Mission), has been invited to deliver the Drew lectures and will also fill a number of

preaching and speaking engagements in the United States and Canada. During his visit he hopes to investigate the latest developments in work among young people, so that he may incorporate them in two projects in which the community minded Wesley Church is keenly interested: a youth center in one of our inner suburbs, and a self-contained farm "village" for lads of the delinquent or semi-delinquent type. Dr. Benson is one of Australia's best known lecturers and broadcasters, to say nothing of his high reputation as a preacher, pastor and organizer. His weekly column, "Church and People," in one of our daily newspapers is truly catholic in its inclusiveness. It is read by at least a million people.

* * *

No Strikes, but Miners' Unrest Grows

Coal at the moment is news because almost all the mines are working day after day without a strike or a holdup. This month, which began with coal disputes that were most embarrassing to the Labor government, now promises to have something like an all-time production record. Because of the near-crisis in this industry, there has been no lack of advice from many quarters as to what should be done about it. One Roman Catholic commentator declares that his church's remedy for the recurring unrest is cooperative ownership of the mines by the men themselves. Alan Walker, a Methodist minister who served several years in the mining town of Cessnock, N. S. W., has recently given a number of radio talks on "Understanding the Coal Miner." His careful analysis of unrest in the coal fields emphasized the effect on the men of working under conditions which he summarized as involving "darkness, dampness, danger and death."

* * *

Insecurity Held Reason Absenteeism Grows

In many mining towns leisure-time conditions are not such as to make for wide interests and a well balanced perspective on the part of the miners. Since there are few libraries and other cultural facilities, workers spend most of their free hours in saloons, drinking and discussing their grievances, real or imaginary. Mr. Walker feels that the dangerous nature of their work and the constant threat of economic insecurity are often the real reasons for cases of dispute and absenteeism, the openly declared causes of which frequently sound ridiculously trivial. This feeling of insecurity comes from the men's belief that open-cut and other mechanized mining methods will increasingly be adopted after the war and displace the ordinary miner. They also realize with some bitterness that almost all the other states have plans for developing their own coal or electrical resources, which will make them more or less independent of the mines in New South Wales.

* * *

Communal Village Is Planned

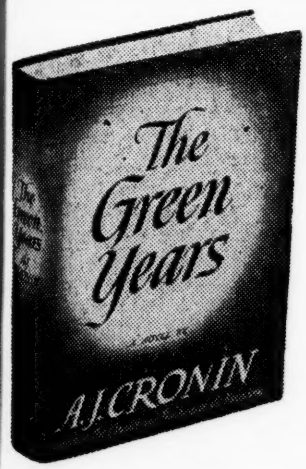
Archdeacon R. B. S. Hammond, who is doubtless known to American and Canadian readers because of his keen interest in temperance and other aspects of social welfare, in association with a group of other churchmen has bought on the outskirts of Sydney 125 acres of land. Here they propose to build an "old age village" for married pensioners of good character and limited means. The village is to be laid out on an octagonal plan, at the center of which will be a communal dining hall, kitchen, library and reading room. Medical, nursing, dental, hospital, postal, banking and recreational facilities are to be provided as part of this self-contained community life. While it so happens that the chief people so far concerned with the plan are Anglicans, the village will be completely interdenominational.

ALLAN T. MCNAUGHTON.

NIEBUHR LECTURES

(Continued from page 1358)

for man to say whether he wants it or not." Who is he who decides? asked Dr. Niebuhr. He is a man, who cannot transfer the detached attitudes of the natural sciences to the social sciences as Dewey wants him to do. Although the so-called social sciences are indispensable in a highly complex society, we must never forget that the objectivity with which man looks at a star or an atom is impossible in the social sciences. For when a man looks at a star, his mind is at the center and his self-interest at the periphery, but when he looks at another man or, even more, at himself, his mind is on the periphery and his self-interest at the center. Though a man may rightly decide on his wants, he must face the fact that another man, Hitler perhaps, may reach a contrary de-



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cision which also profoundly affects his freedom and his destiny. He must reach his decisions in this conflict, since if he were to try to master all the scientific knowledge necessary he would degenerate into "a monstrous perpetual graduate student" and still fail to achieve the wisdom and objectivity he seeks.

Dr. Niebuhr declared that we dare not ignore certain basic and unchangeable elements which have been obscured in our obsession with change. We forget at our peril that man is a creature rooted in nature, in time and place. Though he is also a master, with indeterminate capacities of transcending the limits of nature, he remains a mind within a physical organism. His control over the forces of nature has cumulative consequences which he cannot always anticipate. His freedom is only partly protected by his reason. Though it represents the possibility of creativity, it also represents the height of his capacity for evil.

Perils of Freedom

Its perils shift between the opposite poles of overestimation of freedom on the one hand and an attempt to destroy it on the other. The present war illustrates the conflict between those two conceptions. There is no transcendence of pure reason over against force. These perils are so nearly inevitable that they might be called necessity. The corruption of freedom is one of the inevitable facts of human destiny. This presents us with the ironic spectacle of our present society—a culture which has tried to emancipate itself from the idea of sin only to illustrate so perfectly the perils of sin in its present predicament. This can be understood only when we are prepared to admit once again into our thought those conceptions of the tragedy and mystery of existence which are so conspicuously lacking in modern culture.

The remaining lectures in Dr. Niebuhr's series will deal with (2) man's relation to nature, (3) his search for meaning, (4) false dogmatism and false pragmatism in morals, (5) the changing breadth and permanent depth of man's communal task and (6) fulfillment and frustration in human existence. The lectures continue on Wednesday afternoons until Dec. 13.

Montana Council Reborn

Will Foster Interchurch Projects, Join in National Program

BILLINGS, MONT., Nov. 2.—Because Montana churchmen realize that peace will bring new problems which can be solved by the different denominations working together rather than alone, they have recently reorganized their Montana council of churches. The council, an outgrowth in 1936 of the older home missions council, had ceased to operate. The new one is an affiliate of the Federal Council of Churches. It is a voluntary organization, with no paid secretary.

Montana's bigness and the sparsity of her population make problems of fellowship in the state difficult and the work of the council correspondingly necessary. Its program includes the development of interchurch comity, through which local competition among denominations will be combated; religious education, with emphasis on mutual effort, young people's work, leadership training, home life, temperance and missions; social welfare, for cooperation in public legislation, race relations and industrial problems; rural life, fostering study of ways the churches may work with government agencies and community organizations; women's work; pastors' conferences, which will plan and arrange preaching missions and training conferences to bring inspiration and education to ministers of the state. Your correspondent has been made president.

CLOYD H. CONNER.

Blue Network Will Provide Thanksgiving Program

A nation-wide Thanksgiving service, with an address by Methodist Bishop G. Bromley Oxnam, will be heard over the Blue network at 10:30 E.W.T., Nov. 23. Since it depends on audience demand whether or not local stations carry a sustaining program such as this, network officials have asked that listeners who hope to hear the program make their desire known to the program director of whatever local station carries Blue programs.

Current Feature Films

Prepared by Independent Filmscores
M-Mature. Y-Younger. C-Children.

Arsenic and Old Lace (War.) Jean Adair, Cary Grant, Josephine Hull, Peter Lorre, Raymond Massey. *Comedy,* from play, about nice old ladies, slightly daft in very daft family, who murder elderly men to make them happy, conceal bodies innocently in the cellar. Rather static for a movie, but—once the gruesome premise has been accepted—*skillfully projected* comedy. M

The Master Race (RKO) George Coulouris, Carl Esmond, Paul Guilfoyle, Osa Massen, Stanley Ridges. *Melodrama.* Suffering in Belgian town even after Allied arrival, as Junker colonel goes underground, stirs up trouble. Designed to prove military clique is unregenerate, this serves a purpose in showing that all is not immediately set right with Allied occupation. Apparent approval of Allied condescension shown. *Grim, sensational, convincingly portrayed.* M

The Reckless Age (Univ.) *Comedy.* Young Gloria Jean sings pleasantly in trite film about poor little rich girl who finds happiness clerking, incognito, in one of family dime stores. Y, C

A Strange Affair (Col.) *Melodrama.* Amateur detective and wife have great fun solving murder among group of refugees in New York hotel. *Fair* suspense-plus-comedy piece. M, Y

What To Do With Germany (The March of Time) *Documentary.* Newsreel posed shots seek to prove Germans loyal to idea of world domination, present speakers (Vansittart, Winchell, Welles, Dulles) who urge that we be not misled into forgetting German crimes. *Insufficient evidence for conclusions drawn.* M, Y

BEST CURRENT FILMS

For Family: The Adventures of Mark Twain, Going My Way, Home in Indiana, Madame Curie, Mr. Winkle Goes to War, Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs, The Sullivans, This Is the Army, Wilson, Wing and a Prayer.

For Mature Audience: Attack!, The Battle of the Marianas, Destination Tokyo, Double Indemnity, Dragon Seed, Gaslight, The Impostor, It Happened Tomorrow, Jeannie, Secrets of Scotland Yard, Since You Went Away, The Song of Bernadette, Summer Storm, Two Girls and a Sailor, Voice in the Wind.

11-22-44

The Christian Century

announces

that beginning in its issue of November 29 it will publish a series of eight articles on

Can Catholicism Win America?

by

Harold E. Fey

Titles of the eight articles

1. Can Catholicism Win America?
2. Catholicism Comes to Middletown
3. The Hierarchy Builds Its Press
4. Are Negroes Going Catholic?
5. Catholicism Woos the Worker
6. Catholicism Fights Communism
7. Rome Invades Rural America
8. Catholicism and Freedom

Publisher's Announcement

The Christian Century is printing the maximum number of copies permitted under our restricted paper allotment. New subscriptions are being accepted only as a vacancy in the present list occurs. If you have been expecting to make a present of a year's subscription to a friend, act immediately. Such subscription reservations will be accepted on a first come, first served basis, and will be entered as soon as possible. Make certain, also, that your own subscription is in good standing by remitting promptly on receipt of renewal notice.

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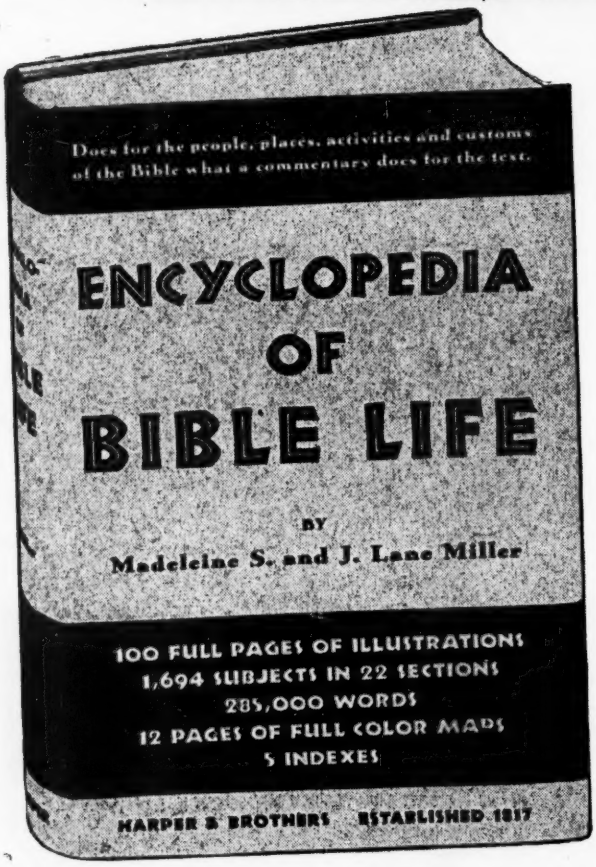
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PUBLISHER'S NOTE: Because we have had to change the publication date of this book three times, and because of the large number of orders already placed with booksellers we are not holding them to a definite publication date. We started shipping stock November 21st to go on sale immediately. Get your copy from your bookseller today.

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